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ABSTRACT

Most studies of school development have taken a one-dimensional point of view. This booklet presents findings of a study that used triangulated methods to measure compulsory school development in Sweden. It compares curriculum texts, the effects of curriculum change, and the metaphors used in the curriculum policies. The first part describes the four curriculum policies that were implemented in 1962, 1969, 1980, and 1994. The second part describes the effects of the national curriculum changes as documented in research reports from sociology, education, political science, and others. The third part examines the dominant metaphors in the four national changes in curriculum. Analysis of the curriculum texts demonstrates that Sweden has undergone a continuously changing reform program since the 1960s. The changes were motivated by a desire to comprehensively restructure education, thereby providing social justice, equal opportunity, and national efficiency. Although the reforms were consolidated and created developmental changes, the effects of curriculum change depict a view of Swedish curricula policies as noble but flawed. New curricula results in few, if any, changes in the schools. Analysis of curricula metaphors (growth, efficiency, fostering, society, collaboration, and balance) confirmed the Swedish school as a rather unchangeable institution. It is argued that the four curriculum changes were only first-order changes--those that improved efficiency without altering basic organizational features or individual roles. Five tables and three figures are included. (Contains 88 references.) (LMI)

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RESEARCH BULLETIN 91

Margaret Drakenberg

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COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

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RESEARCH BULLETIN 91

Margareth Drakenberg

COMPULSORY SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT IN SWEDEN;
A three-dimensional view

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ABSTRACT

Margareth Drakenberg

COMPULSORY SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT
IN SWEDEN: A three-dimensional view.

School development can be considered to be a multitudinous phenomenon, and can be described from many different points of view. This has given rise to a large number of studies and research reports, however, primarily describing school development as a one-dimensional phenomenon. The summarized results from these studies have given a contradictory view of Swedish school development. In this report a multiple research approach has been used, i.e. triangulation. Triangulation is a new approach to school development, using different perspectives to study the phenomenon of interest. Thus, in this study a comparison was made between curriculum texts, effects of curriculum change and metaphors used in the curricula.

First a presentation is given over the four curricula, covering the last fifty years; second, a presentation is given of the effects of the national curriculum changes as echoed in research reports from sociology, education, political sciences, and others; third, a presentation is given of the dominant metaphors encountered in the four curricula, issued.

The curriculum texts demonstrated that Sweden has experienced a continously changing reform program from the 1960s onwards. The changes were caused by an ambition to restructure education along comprehensive lines, providing social justice, equality of opportunity and national efficiency. And indeed, the reforms of the 1960s and onwards have, de facto, been consolidated and considered to have resulted in marked developmental changes. However, the effects of curriculum change, as described from different academic disciplines, depicted a view of Swedish curriculum changes as noble but flawed. New curricula, the reports showed, resulted only in few, if any, changes in the schools. Analyses of the most frequently encountered metaphors in the four curricula, resulted in a confirmation of the Swedish school as a rather unchangeable phenomenon, so far.

Thus, information about innovations counteracted research results indicating unchangeability. How was this possible? Here I will argue we have to categorize innovations in first- and second-order changes. In Sweden the four curriculum changes have been first-order changes which

is why it is quite natural that schooling appears pretty much the same as it has always been. If real change is going to occur we must deal with alterations at both levels - a challenge for the 21st century.

Key words: School development, curriculum, change

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Content

1.Introduction	1
1.1 Roots of the Swedish Educational System	3
2. Development of the Swedish Compulsory School - seen via its curricula.	6
2.1 What is the curriculum?	7
2.2. Work and notions leading up to curriculum -62	8
2.3. Curriculum -62	11
2.4 Work and notions leading up to curriculum -69	12
2.5 Curriculum -69	13
2.6. Work and notions leading up to curriculum -80	15
2.7. Curriculum -80	17
2.7.1 Management by objectives	18
2.7.2. Decentralization	19
2.7.3. Evaluation	21
2.8. Work and notions leading up to curriculum -94	23
2.9. Curriculum -94	25
2.10. Comments	28
3. Effects of Curriculum Changes	30
3.1 Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69	31
3.2. Curriculum -80	35
3.3 Comments	39
4. Swedish Compulsory school development- seen via its curriculum metaphors	43
4.1 Curriculum -62	45
4.2 Curriculum -69	51
4.3.Curriculum -80	57
4.4 Curriculum -94	62
4.5 Discussion	66
5. Concluding discussion	69
References	77

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Helsinki 1995

Margareth Drakenberg

1. Introduction

School development can be considered to be a multitudinous phenomenon. It can be described from many different points of view, and has so many aspects to eluminate that an absolutely fullfledged description will probably never be given. School development has been, and still is, a very interesting topic of research and many studies have focussed on it. Mostly, however, from a one-dimensional point of view. A two-dimensional view has only occasionally been considered, e.g. Svingby (1978) who compared curriculum texts to school reality. Using a one- or two-dimensional view, it is very easy to prove what you want to prove.

In daily life we often give, and sometimes also receive, the advice to consider something from more than one perspective! Triangulation can be considered the result of such a common piece of good advice. In an attempt to study school development, the empirical reality of which is a reality of competing definitions, attitudes and personal values, I realized the importance of using a multiple research approach, i.e. triangulation. Denzin (1978), who provided a detailed discussion of how to triangulate, proposed four basic kinds of triangulation:

1/ data triangulation, using data from different sources, times, and places;

2/ investigator triangulation, i.e. between multiple observers of the same phenomenon;

3/ theory triangulation, i.e. between multiple theoretical perspectives with respect to the same set of objects. This notion of triangulation is by Denzin considered problematic, and likely impossible in reality.

4/ methodological triangulation, i.e. using multiple methods, either radically different or sometimes only variants of the same technique. Lately, this form of triangulation has been an often used approach in an attempt to bridge the gap between quantitative and qualitative research methods.

School development is a complex phenomenon to study. No single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective and solve the problem of competing causal factors found to be influencial. Therefore, I will argue that multiple perspectives must be employed.

It is often said that since the mid-twentieth century compulsory school in Sweden has seen a radical change. In this report I have used a three-dimensional view, triangulation, using dissimilar perspectives to measure the phenomenon of interest. This is a new approach to school development where a comparison is made between curriculum texts, effects of curriculum change, i.e. school reality, and metaphors used in the curricula. First, a presentation is given over the four curricula, covering the last fifty years; second, a presentation is given of the effects of the national curricula as echoed in research reports from sociology, education, political science, and others; third, a presentation is given of the dominant metaphors encountered in the four national curricula, issued. The reason for choosing such an approach is to assume that different perspectives are complementary and additive rather than competing. Each perspective has its strengths and weaknesses. Using a combination of perspectives increases validity, as the strengths of one perspective can compensate for the weaknesses of another perspective. At the same time, consistency in overall patterns of data from different sources or perspectives contributes significantly to the overall credibility of findings.

Consequently, in this report Swedish compulsory school development, during nearly 50 years, will be covered; and I hope this description, using a triangulation approach, will give a more adequate understanding of Swedish compulsory school development than is found in one- and two-dimensional studies (see Figure 1)

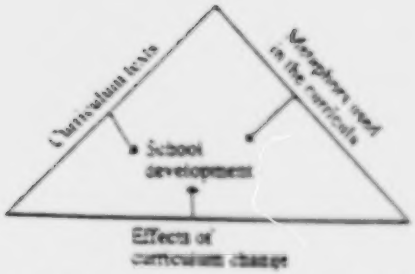

Figure 1. A three-dimensional approach to Swedish compulsory school development.

1.1 Roots of the Swedish Educational System.

The history of Swedish education can be traced back at least to King Gustav Vasa (1521-1560), who was among the very first to realize the importance of education to the economic and social development of society. Over the years, the Swedish school system has been influenced by several educational paradigms, although three paradigms are considered to have dominated: the liberal paradigm, the scientific paradigm and the progressive paradigm.

For the liberal paradigm, having its roots in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, the most distinctive role of education is the recapitulation of the truths already known. The most valuable knowledge, therefore, consists of photostatic copies of the universal and ideal objects. Plato´s ideas are basic to the liberal education concept, a concept considered to be unidimensional (Brubacher 1966). Liberal education is a general, comprehensive education, often identified with allround development, i.e. a harmonious development of the intellectual,

aesthetic, moral and physical qualities of an individual. Its notions of education are still powerful.

The Enlightenment philosophy, popular during the eighteenth century launched the scientific or positivistic approach to education. Education should be constructed on a firm scientific ground, which would be free of subjective prejudices. Comte, father of positivism, as well as Spencer and Darwin, tried to combine the methodologies of cultural and natural sciences into one articulated theory. Introducing assumptions about equivalence between the behaviour of organic and inorganic matter, between animal and man, they launched the way for the behaviouristic approach in education. The behaviouristic ideas were very influencial in the United States and they started to play an especially important role in curriculum construction during the early 20th century (Kliebart 1979a; 1979b). One of its acknowledged representatives is Bobbit, who was inspired by the efficiency techniques of industry elaborated by Tyler, father of the scientific management movement (Kliebart 1979a). This scientific approach, emphasizing a mechanistic view of learning, became dominating as society grew more and more industrialized. Ideological, political and value analyses were replaced by technical ones, and even today it seems to be one of the main streams in education.

The progressive paradigm is considered to have its starting point in the writings of Rousseau and his emphasis on children´s interests and spontaneity, although, the paradigm can be traced back to the New Testament. In the beginning of the 20th century, Dewey further developed the Rousseauean ideas. Although there has been some controversy about Dewey´s role in education (see Brubacher 1966,19; Kliebart 1979a,200), most of the authors who have evaluated Dewey´s role in education agree that Dewey laid the basis for the progressive approach in education. For Dewey, education was an active sphere of constructive activity which focussed on children´s interests and rejected the passive spectator view of the learner in the study process. Dewey considered

education to be continous growth without any definite prefixable end state; and he envisioned a society in which the division of mental and physical labour, reflected in the division between liberal and vocational education, would be eliminated.Over the years there have been various followers of Dewey who have tried to apply his principles, in general or restricted to more specific aspects of it, e.g. curriculum design (see Beyer & Apple 1988).

2. Development of the Swedish compulsory school - seen via its curricula.

During the 20th century, the responsibility for education and upbringing were gradually moved from primary groups to state-organized institutions. This also meant that the design and control of curricula became the responsibility of the state administration. With the expansion of education - the compulsory comprehensive school reform took place in the mid-twentieth century - Sweden got a highly centralized system, emphasizing a gradually stronger link between education and the State, where curriculum became an object for negotiation between different political and interest groups.

School planning became also centralized. I will here give a short presentation of the planning procedure. In the Swedish centralized system, educational planning began by the Government appointing various school committees or commissions to investigate the educational situation and propose reforms. Reports emanating from these committees/commissions were published as official documents, State Reports (SOU). These reports were submitted to different interest groups and organisations to be discussed and evaluated. Based on these reports and the feedback they received, the Ministry of Education presented a Government Bill (Prop.) to Parliament, which after heated debates and a vote, sent it to the National Board of Education (SO) to be implemented. Additionally, central as well as local consultants were often appointed to guide the teachers in their implementation of a new curriculum.

2.1 What is the curriculum?

From an international perspective, the concept "*Läroplan* " is complicated, because no direct correspondence is to be found in the English language. Curriculum and syllabus have been used interchangeably and Kallós and Lundgren (1976) have tried to sort out the concepts. One definition sometimes found runs like this:

> *"A curriculum is a text of pedagogy. It codifies the basic meaning of the educational process in question; the selection of what is taught, the organization of what is taught and the ideas of methods for instruction"*
>
> (Lundgren 1986, p.18)

In this paper, curriculum has been equated with "*Läroplan* " and regarded as defining the space of options open for teachers and students at the level of actual teaching. However, has this space of options in Sweden been defined by legislative and organizational frames, a fact which Lundgren (1972) has discussed in detail.

The mosaic of competing curriculum ideologies, mentioned in a previous section, was characteristic of the Nordic countries during the first half of the 20th century and resulted in a school system characterized by a formal division between free primary education for the vast majority of students and a secondary education (having many parallells) for which students had to pay, and thus addressed a restricted number of the population. In the middle of the century, the drive for a change in the educational system towards a more comprehensive school gradually grew more and more intensive. And as a result, the compulsory school, where education beyond the rudiments was made available to the masses, consisting of a nine-year comprehensive course in education, was introduced in Sweden in 1962. In the Nordic countries the comprehensive school was a response to social and political pressures. Its implementation was thus guided by social, economical and political purposes,

along the lines of a dominant egalitarian ideology, as a means to open up the opportunity structure and improve the quality of life of an increasing number of people, suitable to countries characterized by an explosive economic growth.

2.2 Work and notions leading up to Curriculum -62 .

Societies were beginning more and more to look upon their people as a reservoir of talents and skills. It was therefore increasingly desirable to provide every person with the education for which his needs and abilities were adapted. Furthermore, there was a beginning appreciation of the fact that "raising the level of education for all people is the best means by which the richer and more diversified life, which modern developments are producing, can be better created and enjoyed"(OECD 1966, p. 15).

Thus, a reconstruction of the Swedish School System was initiated during the 1940s, although proposals in that direction had been heard for some time. The politicians wanted a quite new philosophy of education to penetrate the school system and a School Committee, consisting almost entirely of experts, was appointed. In 1946 it was superseded by a parliamentary School Commission whose suggestions and guidelines for the development of the new school system were presented in a State Report (SOU 1948:27). The 1950 Education Act made provisions for a pilot program, with a nine-year comprehensive system, which should supersede the parallel structure and take care of all the children of compulsory school age in a given area. One of the main purposes of a reorganized school system, according to this State Report, was to increase the general educational level of the citizens. Another main purpose was to make vocational education just as attractive as theoretical education. This State Report triggered a rather heated debate, because the suggestions and guidelines given were considered too radical and too drastic.

Additionally, the objectives for the school were changed, from the emphasis on national unity and adjustment of the individual to the needs of the nation; i.e. they emphasized democracy. This was one of the most striking features and caused a lot of turbulence among educators and parents."Democracy is built on the free cooperation of all citizens. Thus, the primary assignment of school is to foster democratic persons" (SOU 1948:27, p.3). This change in objectives, emphasizing "education for democracy" was said to encourage personal development, critical thinking, independence and cooperation with others. It was also considered to stress changes in teaching methods and in content. Contrary to the old-fashioned "question-response pattern", more progressive methods were suggested, e.g. laborative methods and action-oriented methods. As to the content, more civics, foreign languages, mother-tongue, mathematics and general all-round knowledge were suggested. The reason for this was said to be that in a rapidly changing society, it would be important to stress children´s basic communication skills.

The comprehensive school system meant that curricula at all levels of education had to be adjusted to accomodate the new and different interests presented in an expanded school population, now increasingly drawn from all parts of the community. The comprehensive school system also indicated equal possibilities for all children, and it was considered possible to overcome difficulties of heterogeneous classes by individualized teaching. As a matter of fact, the 1957 School Commission stressed "individualized teaching within the heterogeneously composed class". Thus, teachers had to adopt a flexible teaching strategy whereby each student would get instruction according to his ability and interests within the general framework created by the demands of the curriculum (Curriculum -62, p.20). Only in special cases were remedial measures to be taken.

The main issue, however, in Swedish school policy from 1940 to 1962 was the problem of school differentiation (Husén 1962), i.e at what age were the

students, considered to be academically talented, to be separated from their non-academically interested classmates? The Social Democrats and the Communist Party wanted an undifferentiated school system (9+0), while the Liberals and the Conservatives wanted only six years undifferentiated. At the junior high level they wanted some options to be introduced, and for the 9th grade, they actually wanted nine separate streams to be offered. The differentiation problem was studied very carefully, for instance by Härnquist (1960), who concluded that "A differentiation according to interests should not take place until a relatively late stage and then only concern broadly defined areas of interest"(a.a. p.115). The political parties finally agreed upon a compromise, i.e. 8 years undifferentiated and a 9th grade giving many options.

Consequently, a radically new school system was introduced in 1950 (Prop 1950:70). However, to allow for experimentation, a considerable period elapsed between, on one hand the State Report (SOU 1948:27) and Government Bill (Prop.1950:70), and on the other hand the appointment in 1957 of a new School Committee to implement it. This was due to the decision about the pilot study period (1950-1962), the interpretation of which was a great problem for some time. There were two alternatives:

"1/ after the experimental period, and due to the results of studies carried out during this time, a decision would be taken as to whether or not to create a compulsory school;

2/ that the vote just taken was actually a policy decision to start a 9-year compulsory school and its organization would depend on the results of the experimental period" (Lundgren 1972 p.86-87).

In 1956, the Parliament voted for the latter interpretation. The final reports of the 1957-year School Committee were submitted in 1961 (SOU 1961:30 and SOU 1961:31). In 1962, a Government Bill was passed in Parliament and made the introduction of the 9-year comprehensive school mandatory all over the country.

2.3 Curriculum -62.

The new school was divided into three horizontal levels, each lasting three years. The lower (grades 1-3) and the middle (grades 4-6) levels had an undifferentiated program. A core program of common subjects covered the major part of the upper level, while in Grade 9 a great variety of options were introduced.

The main organizational features of the 1962 Compulsory School are outlined in Figure 2.

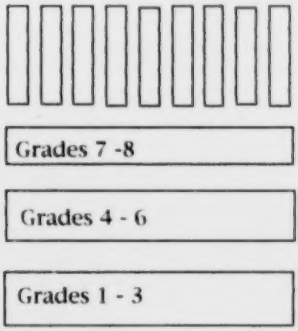

Figure 2. The organization of the Swedish Compulsory School system, according to Curriculum - 62. An overview.

In 1962, the detailed plans were issued, slightly modified by the National Board of Education into the official and national Curriculum Guide (Curriculum -62). This Curriculum Guide contained extremely detailed plans for the contents

of the various subjects and was much bulkier than earlier guidelines had been. The most striking characteristics of Curriculum -62 have already been mentioned, and its steering ambitions were clearly recognized. However, the match between the organization and the contents, studied by Svingby (1978), was largely neglected and, as a matter of fact, the curriculum of the old junior high school (realskola) was by and large transferred into the organizational frames of the comprehensive school. Consequently, several of the ideas of the old school survived, which launched the saying "What´s good for the elite is good for everyone".

2.4 Work and notions leading up to Curriculum -69

At the end of the1960s the edification of a new Swedish educational system was in many ways considered closed, because during a period of six years the politicians had passed several important resolutions: In 1962 the Compulsory School Reform; in 1964 the reform of the senior high school (in Sweden called *gymnasium* and preparing for university studies); in 1967 the reform of adult education and in 1968 the coordination of vocational education into the senior high school. However, throughout the 1960s, the evaluation and adjustment of the compulsory school curriculum (Curriculum -62) caused a rather heated debate. One reason was the unexpected number of students choosing 9g (g stands for *gymnasium* , which is the swedish secondary school leading to university studies) while many of the other nine streams were not filled. It was also shown (see Härnqvist 1978) that this so-called free choice largely acted as a means of legitimizing a socially-determined choice.

A total of 78% of the students preferred any of the theoretical streams in Grade 9, therefore the authorities´ attempts to make vocationally oriented streams just as attractive as the theoretical ones could <u>not</u> be considered a success. A curriculum change of the compulsory school seemed inevitable.

Another reason was the vagueness regarding how to evaluate the implementation of this curriculum reform. The National Board of Education, as well as the politicians, agreed that a more systematic plan of evaluation had to be considered. Educational changes should not be thought of in terms of periodic revisions, but as a continous process; the curriculum should be considered as a "rolling" curriculum, meaning a continuously-changing curriculum.

Furthermore, a recurrent topic was also the value of education, which was criticized and sometimes also questioned. Instructions for a revision of Curriculum -62 considered all these problems very important and in need of solution. Great importance was also attached to the contents and teaching methods of the compulsory school, as well as to pedagogical efficiency.

2.5 Curriculum -69.

The goal to increase all pupils´ skills and knowledge was basic to Curriculum -69. In this respect it was important that the space for common knowledge would be as wide as possible. Therefore, more school hours were devoted to skills and to aesthetic and physical training.

In Curriculum -69 it was also explicitly emphasized that the changes proposed were within the frames and guidelines approved in 1962. However, some changes were introduced, maybe as a concession to leftist sympathies, maybe as a confession to the contradictory wording in Curriculum -62.

Some of the more striking organizational changes were as follows:

*The changes in grade 9 from 9 streams into 4.

*The system of options was simplified.

*Admission to senior high school was not dependent on optional subjects chosen in junior high school.

*English was introduced in grade 3.

*The general subjects were coordinated, i.e. subject borders were broken and an overall approach was introduced.

In Figure 3 an overview is given of the 1969 Compulsory School System in Sweden.

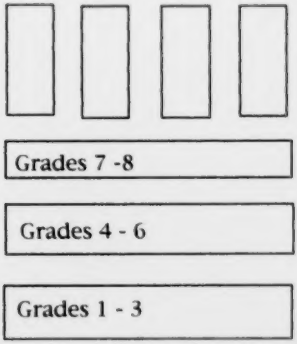

Figure 3. The 1969 Compulsory School System in Sweden. An overview.

One of the first things noticed in Curriculum -69 is its emphasis on "Objectives and Guidelines", which in this revised version had increased from 9 pages to 224 pages! The importance of the ideological steering could not be mistaken. Noticeably in Curriculum -69 was also the resounding of the American catchword "back to basics". Basic knowledge was, in this curriculum,

considered an important concept, implying that certain subjects are more central than others.

Another striking change, often considered as a piece of good news, was that the earlier way of steering by rules, in Curriculum -69 now initiated its decline. More freedom and initiatives were given to the teachers and a first, vague indication of decentralization was seen in the Swedish compulsory school system.

2.6 Work and notions leading up to Curriculum -80.

In Curriculum -69, the Swedish curriculum prevailing through the 1970s, five central concepts were made the principles of planning and implementing instruction: motivation, activity, concretization, individualization and collaboration - topics that caused much discussion and debate, due to difficulties in their interpretation. For example, what was meant by individualization? Did it mean that the teacher varied in the instruction pattern according to the pupils´ ability or did it mean that the content of each unit/lesson was adapted to those pupils who had the greatest difficulties? As no central guidelines gave any answers the interpretation was in principle the individual teacher´s own business.

Two other main topics were possible to distinguish in the debate. Now and then a strong influence of educational technology was noticed. During this period of time severe criticism was often levelled towards it, mainly based on social issues related to the politically left-wing movements, at that time affecting the whole of Western Europe. The second and more overwhelming topic focussed on how difficult it was in a school with no streaming to adequately deal with differences between students in heterogeneous classes. A parliamentary committee was appointed, the "School Working Environment" (SIA), and it delivered its main report in 1974 (SOU 1974:53). The solution of

the problems of teaching heterogeneously grouped classes was, according to this report, a temporary use of various forms of remedial teaching, outside the regular classroom. Another key issue, dealt with in this report, was discipline problems; teachers felt they were not equipped to cope with the increasing boredom and disinterest noticed among the students.

A close interaction between better educational opportunities and the social demand for education could be seen in many of the industrialized countries, where offers of better educational opportunities often created a much greater demand for education than had been foreseen, something that necessitated further reforms.

The results from the Union Federation Congresses around 1970, and the Committee of Low Income Groups, were also characteristic examples. Here the concept of political resources was launched as one component of the quality of life. This meant a much broader conception of quality, indicating a greater say for citizens in society and at their work places. This stressed participation and made it necessary to address the questions of what conditions were required to carry participation into effect. Some answers were proposed by the SIA-Committe (SOU 1974:53 The School Working Environment): 1/The distributional policy aspirations of the SIA-Report indicated that the goals of curriculum reform to come had to be implemented at the local level, by decentralized decision making; and 2/ a new dimension of social development was presented, i.e. the direction of school work was to be decided at the political level and needed not to follow the development of society at large, something that had been launched in different State Reports and Bills in the 1950s and 1960s. Typical of the SIA-Report (SOU 1974:53) was its emphasis on collectivity, as opposed to Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69 where the individual was more in focus.

Another group of documents that merits mention among the work leading up to the 1978 proposal are the LOVUX-reports,i.e. LOVUX I, II, III and IV.

These reports, published during the 1970s, focussed mainly on adult education. However, school education was also dealt with, indicating that school education came under closer scrutinity. The reports concluded that school had failed to provide a large group of young people with even the most elementary and necessary knowledge and skills. The isolation of schools from the rest of society was considered a major problem, which resulted in a preservation of a class society. Criticism was, in particular, levelled towards the fact that so many young people were considered to be left behind by the system, the consequences of which affected certain social groups more than others. The final LOVUX-report (IV, 1976) called for the following alterations in school education:

1. Effective social studies and science instruction and good communication skills for all pupils;
2. A greater share of responsibility for pupils;
3. Closer contact between school and places of work;
4. Better introduction of pupils to what the practical instruments of democracy at work are, the Trade Union Movement.

(LOVUX IV 1976, p. 102)

2.7 Curriculum -80.

After a period of about 100 years of strong economical growth, the very first notions of an economical decline were noticed in the 1970s. It was, however, a short, temporary, economical recess which during the eighties changed into a prosperity never seen before. "The golden eighties" became a mode of expression.

Parallel to the introduction of Curriculum -69, the National Board of Education started its evaluation of how this curriculum was implemented and what kind of problems it would encounter. This continuously working evaluation, alongside a State Report and some Government Bills (SOU 1974:53,

Prop. 1975/76:39 and Prop.1978/79:180), launched the way for the Parliament's resolution in 1979 to develop a new curriculum for the compulsory school level. According to the guidelines presented in the Bill, the goals expressed the "overall approach guiding work in schools", which is why it was necessary "to provide clearer guidelines in the goals set for different subjects" (Prop.1978/79:180 p.67-68). However, it was soon noticed that different views arose as to how this overall approach and subject guidelines were interpreted.

In reading Curriculum -80, it was surprising to find how seldom allusions were given to how this curriculum was intended to be implemented. Notwithstanding, it was the way of administration that more than anything else made this curriculum renowned. The curriculum was characterized by three administrative "novelties": management by objectives, decentralization and evaluation.

2.7.1. Management by objectives

Curriculum -80 was the first curriculum that approached management by objectives, a concept "borrowed" from industry. The curriculum consisted of three parts:1/ Objectives and Guidelines; 2/ Syllabus; and 3/ Schedules (Timetables). These three parts together constituted the General part of the curriculum, followed by Comments and Local plans. The first part of Curriculum -80, objectives and guidelines (160 pages), gave the ideological basis of the Swedish compulsory school, and also presented the general frames and the general objectives of the school activity. It guaranteed the equality of education all over the country. From this time on, the compulsory school was to be steered by means of objectives and evaluations, which meant a two-way power shift: decentralization of responsibility and centralization of policy. This attempt towards the centralization of educational control, alongside the decentralization of responsibility, was a radically new way of managing school

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activities. This indicated two kinds of goals: general goals stipulated by the State and local ones stipulated at the schools, respectively, where the responsibility of how to achieve the objectives was given to the teachers and the students. Behind the split of goals/plans, generally as well as locally, were the assumptions that with the help of local goals it would be easier to achieve the general objectives.

However, a close analysis of the way of steering, stipulated in Curriculum -80, indicated that a combination of steering by rules and steering by objectives was a more adequate description of the management proposed. Such a mixture of guidelines undoubtly give rise to tension and irresolution. If goals and rules are compromises between divergent values and views at the national political values - as we know they are - there is a likelihood that interpretations at the local school level will not be in accordance with the curriculum. Moreover, conflicts will arise at the local level, since groups of teachers at any one school may differ in their opinions on the direction of school activities and in their interpretation of curriculum (Wallin 1986 p.159).

2.7.2. Decentralization.

Ever since the first introduction of the compulsory school (SOU 1948:27), the State authorities have emphasized the demands for equal education in every part of the country. Thus, equality has been the ideological basis, since 1950 and onwards, in the Swedish school structure and organization, and has led to improved access and the spread of educational opportunity. This orientation also meant a highly centralized school system. However, a fundamental idea since the SIA-Report (SOU 1974:53) has been that of decentralization. Individual schools were given freer hands in their use of resources and hence greater decision-making power and scope to set their own priorities. Such an orientation emphasized local initiatives and local adaptation of the schools. During the eighties decentralization was the catchword and two main reasons

for decentralization were recurrent in the debate: one was economical, the other was humanistic. Thus, politicians regarded decentralization both as an act of efficiency and as an act of democracy. School politicians were no exception. Noteworthy in this context was, however, the increased trend towards communal political-bureaucratic control of major educational decisions and consequent uncertainty and ambiguity in the role of the specialist professional educator.

Typical of the school system in Sweden, from then on, was that at one and the same time the centralization and decentralization of power were occurring. What was then the correct balance between general guidelines and local initiatives in curriculum and pedagogy? Is there a correct balance on the whole? Personally, I would argue that the balance will have to vary from society to society over time as contexts, value definitions and priorities change. Granheim and Lundgren (1991), on the other hand, stressed the need for "clear signals from the national steering agency to the local object of this steering" (a.a. p.490). Fullan (1993) also seemed to believe there was a correct balance. Meritoriously, he has discussed this topic of centralization and decentralization. He has noticed, as many of us, that centralization errs on the side of overcontrol, decentralization errs towards chaos. He claims that we have known for decades that top-down change does not work. Leaders, however, kept trying because they did not see any alternative and they were impatient for results. Decentralized solutions, like site-based management, also failed because groups got preoccupied with goverance and frequently floundered when left on their own (Fullan 1993, p. 37). The fact that local units ignored the centre seemed to be a primary reason for this. Fullan´s message was " the centre and local units need each other. You cannot get anywhere by swinging from one dominance to another, what is required is a different two-way relationship of pressure, support, and continuous negotiations. It amounts to simultaneous top-down bottom-up influence" (Fullan 1993, p.38).

2.7.3 Evaluation

The movement towards self-managed schools - towards decentralization and devolution - was counterbalanced by a simultaneous and apparently contradictory movement of controls away from local or existing school systems towards higher levels of government - towards centralization. Since school administration in Sweden became organized at central, regional and local levels, evaluation became "respectable" as capturing the essential features of control and decision - making. The interest in evaluation has increased considerably during the last 30 years, probably mainly due to the fact that economical factors were given increased influence in society on the whole and, in particular, in terms of how schools were using their economic resources. Central authorities now considered guidelines insufficient, and ever since the Government Bill (Prop. 1978/79: 180) there was a growing apparatus of monitoring, testing and assessing performance, indicators which in different ways informed teachers of the government´s expectations. As evaluation became more accepted, a "smorgasbord" developed offering a plethora of models, strategies and techniques. Gradually it was obvious that in Sweden "equality of education" had changed into "quality of education", once again borrowing a concept from industry. Thus, evaluation was gradually more closely attached to education management, and industrially derived concepts as productivity and effectiveness came to the fore. In a Government Bill (Prop. 1978/79:180) nationwide testing was proposed, having the praiseworthy intentions of establishing the key or central values in the curriculum. These national testing-practices caused most researchers to be rather temperate in their conduct while others, a group of politically left-oriented professors in education, tried to initiate a more heated debate by issuing a book. Franke-Wikberg (1989) explicitly expressed her concern regarding the national evaluation and emphasized her doubts about the "real" advantage of evaluations of this kind. She and her collegues found the

national evaluation program too heavily loaded when it came to measuring pupils' performances and skills while, on the other hand, analyses and interpretations of collected data were very vaguely elucidated (Franke-Wikberg 1989, p.7-8). She was also bothered by the fact that these evaluation tests were given in grades 2, 5 and 8. Having a curriculum focussed on levels and not grades, indicating it was up to the teachers in the separate schools to decide, the sequence of content units for each subject, it becomes obvious that some pupils will be tested on contents they have not yet been taught (a.a. p.41). Kallós was concerned about the feedback of the evaluation data. As only a selection of schools and classes were tested, the accuracy and the value of the diagnostic information, referred to by the Board of Education (SÖ 1989 p.1-3), could be highly questioned. "An alternative to the national evaluation program is needed" (Kallós 1989 p.78).

In a broad sense, the issues in this section have been about the distribution of power and authority. A consequence of having decision-making dispersed, but overall control resting with the State, has given an experience of bifurcation and confusion. Having a government adopting a more powerful and focussed role in setting goals, establishing priorities and building frameworks for accountability, and at the same time emphasizing authority and responsibility for key functions to be shifted to the municipal or school level, have created uncertainty and much tension. A narrow-sighted view of this development has considered it to be a typical Swedish phenomenon, and many reports have indicated that the local school reformers were attempting something radically new when trying to implement an ideological stance in the field of education. Widening the view somewhat, we will realize the Scandinavian countries have had very much of the same experiences lately, and without a doubt it has been a trend simultaneously penetrating educational development in many countries all over the world (Beare & Lowe Boyd 1993). The fact that school restructuring is

an international affair excites curiosity because of the factors that might influence such a development.

2.8 Work and notions leading up to Curriculum -94.

In 1987 a Committe was appointed, as part of a long term program, to develop and reconsider the corporate sector, that of which the school is a part. Its State Report (SOU 1988:20) concluded that planning and implementation of the Curriculum -80 had left a lot to be desired. The report stated further that "the stipulated ambitions for school development, so far, have not been adequately fulfilled "(p.8).The teachers have not felt that they were obliged to follow what was said in the national curriculum about what and how to teach in the classroom. Rather, classroom activities were found to be steered by what particular teachers learnt during their teacher education training (see e.g. Drakenberg 1989).

The failure of Curriculum -80 to meet the requirements was not primarily a sign of poor organization or incompetence. Rather, it was a result of the absence of official interpretations of the key or central concepts, resulting in many different interpretations being at stake. As a consequence, hesitation and irresolution were too often found when stipulated goals were not achieved (SOU 1988:20 p.11). Thus, the Committee concluded that the national steering of the school must be more efficient. At the same time, the Committee emphasized that steering by rules has to decrease and the effects of local schools and authorities to increase (a.a. p.11). As the means of steering used so far has been efficient to only a very limited extent, the Committee suggested a closer follow-up directed towards objectives, contents, methods and evaluation of the school, i.e. a more deliberate and explicitly-accomplished management than considered in Curriculum - 80.

Furthermore, the State Report suggested that guidelines should be given on three different levels within the school system: 1/ from the national political level, 2/ from the local political level, and 3/ from the schools themselves (a.a. p 14).

The Report also suggested that the municipality, at least every third year, should present and accept a plan for the local educational system. This plan was supposed to be based on the local plans established in separate schools (a.a. p.35). The Commission also emphasized the importance of extending and enhancing the influence of students and their parents. In particular, the Commission here referred to students´and parents´ influence and shared responsibility, regarding the design and content of teaching, the processes of decision-making, and the work environment of schools (a.a. p. 96). Finally evaluation was dealt with. The evaluation system had to be improved if management by objectives was going to be a more efficient educational governance. As evaluation improvements the Commission referred to the three-levelled model of evaluation, as mentioned above.

Consequently, the State Report (SOU 1988:20) strongly emphasized that it was necessary to facilitate school governance. However, the Report did not fully spell out how this change of management was to be accomplished and, in particular, how the question of responsibility between different levels was to be solved. At the time, this was not necessarily a weakness of policy. Indeed, it could be argued it was a potential strength, in that its success would depend upon the way in which responsiveness was demanded and asserted by participants at various points within the educational process.

During the 80s the adaption of the compulsory school to the market forces was a recurrent topic. Discussions of the creation of competing or rival schools, in order to increase the freedom of choice in terms of schools, of the foundation of free schools, and of the freedom of the individual schools to raise their

profile, have often been encountered in professional journals as well as in daily papers. What can be noticed here is that a new way of looking at education seems to have emerged, i.e. a gradually growing shift towards seeing education as an individual private good rather than a public good (Englund 1994). These trends and orientations towards the marketing of education have also been emphasized in a Government Bill (Prop 1988/89:4) which stated that "it will in the future be easier for free schools, alternatives to the public education system, to gain acceptance and be supported financially..." (a.a. p.52).

At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s most Western countries experienced a very deep economic recession, where continuing national assessments of initiatives by governments became everyday-news. This economic recession has also had a growing influence on school development and the curriculum, where a decreased trust in public education in favor of schools with a higher profile and free schools has been clearly perceptable. A rising individualism, further emphasized by a non-Socialist government, however, in accordance with the severe economical decrease and the drive for educational efficancy, has meant that teachers´ opportunities for innovations and development have been brought under continuing financial pressure and have reduced their scope of action.

2.9 Curriculum -94.

In Sweden, national curricula (1962, 1969, and 1980) have been the results of political compromises and, consequently, different interpretations of the guidelines have been frequently encountered in the schools. Curriculum -62, the very first curriculum of the compulsory school system, was fairly detailed, while Curriculum - 69 was much vaguer and more progressive. Curriculum -80 was very much an intended compromise between behaviorism and progressivism. Work dealing with Curriculum -94, the most recently issued

curriculum, emphasized that this curriculum would have very few pages (Kommittédirektiv 1991:9; SOU 1992:94), indicating a greater scope for schooling in the market .

Curriculum -94 was extraordinary because, for the first time in modern curriculum history, it was meant for all the different kinds of compulsory schools in the country, i.e. not only the nine-year compulsory school but also the Sami school, and the special schools for the handicapped and mentally-retarded (Curriculum -94, p.12). Curriculum -94 consisted of two parts: 1/ common guidelines (12 pages) and 2/ a syllabus for each kind of school form (52 pages). A common curriculum like this meant that all Swedish schools, no matter what kind of school, were founded on the same objectives, values and sharing of responsibility, although some adjustments were made due to what was characteristic of a particular school. The common guidelines gave the general objectives considered necessary for a market oriented management of the school. There were two kinds of objectives: 1/ the goals at which instruction was aimed, i.e. guidelines, and 2/ goals stipulating the basic level of knowledge every pupil was given the opportunity to attain. It was also characteristic that the objectives "stipulated in the Act of School (SFS 1985:1100), in curriculum and in syllabus have to be concretized in local plans...where the separate school have to decide upon how to attain the objectives and how to design and organize the activity" (Curriculum -94, p.13).

The syllabus was passed by Parliament and stated the goals and aims, the structure and the character of each of the nineteen subjects included in the nine-year compulsory school. Design, content and methods of instruction, on the other hand, were handed over to the teachers. Consequently, the school was given the responsibility for pupils, to give them the instruction and the support needed to attain the goals.

Curriculum -94 also signalled further steps along the path towards decentralization and privatization, embarked upon during the 1980s. For

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instance, the emphasis of choice associated with the dezoning of schools offering parents the chance to take their pick from the full market range. The individual was clearly emphasized, and in accordance with the ethics of Christian tradition as well as Western humanism, Curriculum -94 often called attention to the education of the individual´s sense of justice, generosity, tolerance and responsibility (a.a. p.14). It was further emphasized that instruction in school had to be non-confessional. It was, for instance, explicitly stated that "all parents will, with the same confidence, be able to send their children to schools, being sure that no one will be indoctrinated with one contending opinion or another" (a.a. p.14). Such an orientation was considered necessary, in particular in the multicultural environment encountering youth in Sweden.

The School Act (SFS 1985:1100, chap.1 §2) further stipulated equal education wherever you live in the country. According to the Curriculum -94, the interpretation was not that instruction had to be the same all over the country. Nor was it meant to be interpreted as an equal distribution of resources. On the contrary! Instruction had to be adjusted to the needs and demands of each individual, indicating more resources to those having the greatest difficulties to attain the basic level of knowledge (Curriculum - 94, p.15).

As mentioned, the individual was placed more explicitly in focus in this curriculum than in the earlier ones. This was also the case regarding the individual´s and his/her parents´ possibilities and obligations, when it came to responsibilities and decision-making, sincerely emphasized and strengthened, which for instance could be observed in the number of hours addressed to the pupil´s personal choice of language. Compared to earlier curriculum, which set aside 112 hours for such content, this curriculum reserved 470 hours for personal choice (a.a. p.6).

Curriculum -80 stipulated, as Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69, about three levels and three grades within each of them. In Curriculum -94 such

central stipulations were abolished. It was now considered up to the teachers themselves to decide, within the frames of the syllabus, what to teach, when, and to whom. What was fixed was instead the basic level of knowledge. In Grades 2, 5, and 8 national evaluation tests were set in mother-tongue, English and mathematics. Regarding the separate subjects, in most of them the number of hours of instruction have been decreased , except in English, mathematics and the language of one´s own choice.

In Curriculum -94 it was also stated that it was the intention of the school to give their pupils a high quality education, enabling them to choose their continuation studies. This, however, indicated a close cooperation between, on one hand, compulsory school and continuing forms of education and, on the other, compulsory school and working life and society (a.a. p.22).

The educational leader and chief manager in the school was the principal, who had the general responsibility for his/her school to attain the educational objectives common throughout the country. It was also considered his/her responsibility to see to it that the local plans were fulfilled, that school results were evaluated and followed- up.

2.10 Comments

In Sweden we have experienced a continuously-changing reform program from the 1960s onwards. Four different curricula (1962, 1969, 1980 and 1994) have been presented. The changes have been caused by the reorganization of education along comprehensive lines and centered on the structure of schooling and the expansion of provision. Desirability to provide social justice, equality of opportunity and national efficiency has penetrated the four curricula. And indeed, the reforms of the 1960s and onwards, de facto, have been consolidated and are considered to have resulted in marked developmental changes. How the curricula, at all the levels all the time, have been continuously adjusted to

accomodate to a continuously developing society has been pertinent . The speed of change has been so great that one may wonder if and how schools of today will at all be able to provide the education which students will find useful twenty years from now. Is the present adjustment pace of education not much too slow to keep abreast of modern times?

A quick glance in the rear-view mirror will also indicate a cultural aspect of curriculum. What a curriculum is and how it is understood always reflects a specific educational history and a specific culture. Thus, curriculum is a part of the social and cultural context of a country. During a short period in the 70s, there was a discussion in Sweden as to whether school/education could be considered a dependent or an independent variable of society (Abrahamsson 1974). Some politically left-oriented educators, having the late Prime Minister Olof Palme as their foremost advocate, considered school and education to be "the spear head" of the society. Since then, much water has passed under the bridges, and from the short review of the curricula in this paper, it was clearly demonstrated that school/education must be considered a variable very much dependent on society and its rapidly changing character.

In a period of considerable social, industrial, scientific and technological change, the need for reform and improvement has been a general educational orientation in Sweden. We have seen that the curriculum has increasingly been shaped and modified as a society- dependent variable. Thus, a curriculum is both an orientating and mediating device, that can never be conceived of as some kind of final or fixed entity. However, no description of the past can ever be totally accurate as to the actual events. I believe, however, that the journey I have described so far will indicate the general contours of the trip that has been taken, and will set the stage for an examination of the situation.

3. Effects of curriculum changes

This section will give a description of the effects of the four curriculum changes Sweden has experienced so far during the second half of the 20th century. The effects of Curriculum -62, Curriculum -69, and Curriculum -80 will be described according to their impact on changes in the school reality. Scientific reports in sociology, education , political science and others will be analyzed. About the effects of Curriculum -94, the very latest curriculum, it is too early to say anything yet, because it will not be fully adopted until 1995/96.

The radically new orientation, alongside the expansion of education, caused high expectations. From the beginning of the compulsory school period, the curriculum adopted was very detailed and focussed mainly on topics and timetable regulations. This was obviously a way of demonstrating that the content of school instruction was decided politically. But what consequences did this, in fact, have?

Swedish educational research during the post-war period has clearly followed two somewhat different lines of approach. One line has been preoccupied with the question of steering. One of the very first attempts to consider this question was made by Dahllöf (1967), who introduced the so-called frame-factor theory, a theory directly linked to the state steering of the school. This theory has been further developed by Lundgren (1977) into a general model explaining how state decisions regulate the actual limitations of the education. Later on this frame-factor theory has been developed into the curriculum theory by i.a. Svingby (1978), Lundgren (1979) and Englund (1986), giving the frame factor theory its historical, ideological and educational-sociological perspectives. The interest in the curriculum theory approach has varied over the years, but since 1980 the question of steering has experienced a renaissance in Sweden.

The other focussed on curriculum implementation and the effects of implementation. Also this line of approach has experienced variety, having the 1960s and the 1970s as its heyday. In the 1960s there were widespread discussions on objectivity and indoctrination. Critical comments also gave rise to critical research, largely Marxist-inspired, into the role of schools in the Swedish society. However, the world of high expectations came crashing down around 1970, when the first international implementation studies surfaced. Goodlad et al (1970), for instance, showed in their report that the implementation of the new educational system, adopted in most of the Western industrialized world, had failed. Their report was the igniting spark and was heightened in Sweden by Bernstein and Bourdeau & Passeron, who paved the way for educational research along a critical tradition. The educational research into such a tradition was mainly focussed on the relationship between the teaching process and the differentiation of pupils; and the concept of "social reproduction" was launched. In this research tradition we find a number of articles and research reports by fluent writers who often lack in theoretical depth.

3.1 Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69.

In Sweden many educators have considered Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69 to be the results of political struggle. The compulsory school reform was seen as a logical step in the development of the political and economical system of which it was a part. These reforms of the 60s were presented as "social reforms" and were obviously based on certain assumptions about the possibility of bringing about social change towards equality via changes in the social system. It should be noted, however, that the whole idea of "equality of opportunity" was founded on the idea of "unequal resources" of students, on one hand, and on the selection of contents and working patterns adapted to the

experiences of middle and upper class students, on the other. Teaching within the frames given did not permit teachers to take into account the various objective needs of different students when these differences were based on conflicting interests. Contents and work methods in school were strongly adjusted to those students who did well, and the remedial measures or compensatory programs were destined to give other pupils at least a minimal dose of knowledge and social skills in exactly the same areas and in more or less the same way. Given this perspective, the increased use of various forms of remedial teaching, documented by Kihlborn and Lundgren (1974) was what could be expected. Teaching methods emphasizing more unstructured forms of instruction, according to Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69, in accordance with a trend towards the abolition of numerical grades within the compulsory school, did affect working class children in a negative way (Bernstein 1975).

Sociological researchers, i.a. Callewaert & Nilsson (1974), tried to show that a comprehensive school system preserved certain social conditions. This preservation, they argued, was accomplished partly by excluding some types of knowledge, but primarily by socializing the younger generation by means of specific work methods in school "in agreement with unexpressed aims of the school" . The lasting impression of their report was their demonstration of schools as legitimizing certain (middle-class) social conditions. Together with Lundgren (Callewaert & Lundgren 1976), Callewaert gave the idea of social reproduction a close analysis, and in 1980 the lesson analyses (Callewaert & Nilsson 1980) demonstrated why working class children were unsuccessful in school. This line of research was further emphasized by educational researchers like Kallós and Lundgren (1977) who stressed that although school should provide every child with the opportunity to develop maximally according to its abilities and interests, this had to be within a pre-specified area of contents derived not from the interests and needs of different social classes, but from the interests of the ruling class. The sociologists also stressed that the school

reforms (Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69) had not been thorough enough to eleminate the effects of various differences between students. Accordingly, a comprehensive school in a society of advanced capitalism could not serve all children. Consequently, certain groups had the power to force their values, norms and views upon other groups, due to power mechanisms at a level other than the symbolic one. This process was termed "symbolic violence" by Bourdieu and Passeron (1970), and the concept and its consequences were very much discussed at the time. Behind the apparent neutrality of the school, Bourdieu meant that we could find the transmission of an arbitrary culture - that of a dominant class. By "symbolic violence" certain values and meanings were forced upon the recipients as legitimate, and were accepted as such.

These reports tried in various ways to demonstrate that reform and progress were not always the same, and critical comments emphasized that schools served to preserve the existing society. Reports and analyses clearly demonstrated the fact that very little had come of the hopes that the educational system could contribute to greater equality through greater social mobility. The content and methods of instruction were also called into question in this critical tradition of research.

However, towards the end of the 70s the research focus seemed to have changed and official educational texts and documents came into focus. Educators like Lundgren (1977) and Svingby (1978) brought school management documents into the fore. Lundgren (1977) focussed on the curriculum documents as one of several means of regulating instruction. He carried out a close analysis of the relationship between the curriculum and the society in a historical perspective, using the concept of code to denote the structural principles applied in a concrete instrument of control such as the curriculum. Svingby (1978) also examined the curriculum - society relationship in a comparative study of the Swedish curricula. She showed, for instance, how the content of the curriculum changed over the course of time. She also found

curriculum language very specific and emphasized that, as the curriculum gradually included more ideology, its wording became less clear, leaving more scope for differences in interpretation. In her thesis, where she compared Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69, she concluded that "there is a greater discrepancy than there used to be between ... the ideological tone... and the practical functions which the school is intended to perform in society. The school directly manifests its selection function by the fact that it awards grades. The ideological sections give the impression that the principal task of the school is to further the individual development of its pupils according to their needs and interests. Of course, this is not the case" (a.a. p.206-207).

The two curricula, Curriculum -62 and Curriculum -69, were also of great interest for some Swedish historians interested in the politics of education. However, they looked more at the structure of schooling than at its contents. In particular, organizational questions were the main focus of Isling (1980) and Marklund (1980,1981,1982 and 1985).

The flood of educational debate on schooling, in the 1960s and 1970s, in particular representing more left-winged orientations, demonstrated that schooling did not seem to connect goals and the priorities of the curricula. Many reports showed that providing equality in educational opportunities was not the equivalent of merely removing formal obstacles. The strength of socio-cultural and regional factors proved a harder core to crack than expected. What was achieved by the two curricula, Curriculum -62 and Curriculum - 69, according to most reports, was the acceptance of an illusion of equal opportunity, which, of course, was strengthened by the development of various compensatory measures. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1970), these reforms rather emphasized that schools were agencies of reproduction, reproducing the values, meanings and needs of a ruling social class.

The quantity of educational debate demonstrated the impact of a new sociology of education, which considered school curriculum an important site of

ideological struggle, even though it was almost certain that curriculum, per se, lacked the overwhelming significance that the "new sociology of education" seemed to attribute to it. However, the debate led to increased attention towards the socio-cultural bias of the existing curriculum and methods of instruction, to intensified demands and calls for major changes in the content of education and in teaching and learning methods. At the same time, the loud and manifold criticism led itself to a kind of a crisis in many educators' confidence. Perhaps education, even if it was improved, could not make a difference given social class, family and other societal conditions outside the purview of the educational sector?

3. 2. Curriculum -80.

Three concepts became extra characteristic of this curriculum: management by objectives, decentralization and evaluation. The management by objectives, not only restricted to school but penetrating all municipal activities, caused a rather heated debate in the 80s, borrowed as the concept was from the industrial and business world. Here traditional ways of economical management had been replaced by management by objectives. Advocates of this method of management emphasized powerfully - but without any foundations for such a statement - that management by objectives resulted in increased efficiency. Its advocates assured that management by objectives was a way of steering appropriate for all kinds of activities. Lateron it was found to be a trend of school development characteristic of many Western industrialized countries. The question of steering by objectives also engaged schools in an intense process of decentralization; and politicians tried very hard to link the notions of equality with the notion of participation. Such a mission certainly gave rise to tension and raised questions about possibilities to implement the method of decentralization.

In the 1980s, considerable research funds were allocated to projects at a number of departments of political science. The main purpose of these investigations was to demonstrate the problems of management in the schools. An example of this research was found in Stenelo (1988). From an educational point of view; his research might be considered somewhat superficial because an educational-historical perspective was missing, and thus did not provide any solid basis for a profound understanding of the complex problems he was dealing with. However, the key word in his research was the concept of implementation, and he tried to explain the school´s problems of governance. The report showed that the decentralization reform had led to "only insignificant effects" of(a.a. p.10). The reasons for this, he emphasized were: 1/ The very organization of the school system, keeping the organization in tact has meant no change in the balance of power; and 2/ The ideology of equality. Although the scope of action was said to have increased, giving room for local initiations and development, the actual space of action for what was unique and unusual, in fact, had been rather restricted. There was also an obvious discrepancy between political vision and actual school reality. Stenelo did <u>not</u> claim that decentralization within the school organization was impossible, but he emphasized that changes in complex organizations develop in small steps and take their time (a.a. p.11).

During the 1980s, management by objectives became the self-evident solution to all problems in the corporate sector, and attracted large crowds of advocates. In spite of this, was there any evidence of its working? In an analysis of management by objectives, Rombach (1991) examined, from an economical point of view, the possibilities of this method of governance. His analyses of the literature indicated that management by objectives was built on five preconditions: i.e. a/ explicitly framed objectives, b/ participation of the employees, c/ feedback of the results, d/ the rewarding of fulfillment , and e/

support of the executives. These preconditions , however, were seldom found in the school system. Rombach also presented four arguments for not using this method of steering: 1/ the effects were neither reliable nor valid; 2/ there were better methods at hand; 3/ the method was impossible to use; and 4/ the method was not well-reasoned. Finally, Rombach predicted that sooner or later management by objectives would end up as any other old fashioned and malfunctioning management technique. It was about time for its repudiation, he concluded.

Steering by goals was a topic also dealt with by Granheim and Lundgren (1991) in their analysis of the Norwegian school system. This school system, which was the result of several far-reaching reforms in the postwar period, had many similarities to the Swedish one; therefore it is considered pertinent to mention here. Granheim and Lundgren claimed that there were two different ways of developing a modern system of education. Using the model of a continuum, they found at one extreme a model in which the State accepted responsibility for establishing a system of education that was common to all. At the other extreme, they found a model in which different systems and educational possibilities competed in the market. In recent years, in most Western industrialized countries, the trend was to move towards the latter model, in which the mixture between political and professional responsibility had grown into a considerable problem. The unique feature of governance by goals was to emphasize the role and responsibility of different levels of steering when establishing goals and evaluating results. This idealistic idea turned, however, into a slough of interpretations of responsibility, where clear signals were lacking "from the national steering agency to the local object of this steering. The same lack of signals is also found to a large extent at the local level and the level of the school, when those are the steering agencies" (a.a. p. 490). For the time being, it was far from clear where the responsibility lay and consequently, it was obvious that the relationship between political

responsibility and professional responsibility presented a severe problem. Where did the boundary between political and professional responsibility actually lie? Granheim and Lundgren asked; and their conclusion was that: "If steering by goals is to have any force, goals must become the basis for legislation" (a.a. p. 494).

The changes in steering Swedish schools was also the main focus of Berg´s study (1992), where his theoretical frame of reference referred to state legality and social legitimacy, i.e. to formal and informal control mechanisms. In his report, Berg stressed what everybody working in the school knows, i.e. that "steering of the school is not only a question of formal, written objectives, rules and instructions (state legality) but also a question of historical and local historically conditioned unwritten rules (social Legitimacy)" (a.a. p.333). Discussing this phenomenon, he concluded that "socially legitimate functions to all appearences exert stronger control on the content of actual school activities than tasks having state legality" (a.a. p. 338). Accordingly, the State had failed in its task of steering, meaning that the attempts by the State, via centralization and curriculum development, to change the schools´ value-base had not been successful. Were the reasons for this failure to be found 1/ in the content of state steering, 2/ in the methods of reform implementation, or 3/ in the preparedness of the actors? According to Berg (a.a.), severe mistakes had been made regarding all three of them.

In a recently published PhD thesis (Johansson & Johansson 1994), the question was asked: "to steer or not to steer?" The authors examined how current strategies for the steering of compulsory education in Sweden were intended to function and how they could be expected to function in practice. They found that the political steering of the compulsory school had failed. The steering documents did not function as such, and the politicians, in fact, were not steering. Steering factors were instead the market forces, the authors concluded.

However, a minority of cases focussed on comparisons between curriculum texts and school reality, for instance, Drakenberg (1989) who compared the effects of Curriculum -69 and Curriculum -80 on daily life in school. Seven years elapsed between her two data collections, which revealed that during this period:

1/ students´ possibilities to cooperate with their teachers in different planning activities had decreased;

2/ collaboration between teachers had slightly increased;

3/ teachers considered it very difficult to attain the intentions of the curricula; and

4/ different subjects´attachment to reality had decreased.

The conclusions drawn by Drakenberg was that a/ Curriculum -69 was very much the curriculum designers´way of blowing their own trumpet. Almost no effects were noticeable in school; and b/ Curriculum -69 and Curriculum -80 had rather widened than narrowed the gap between the curriculum and school reality.

Interesting results were also presented in Ekholm´s study (1992), where he showed data from 1969,1979, and 1991, demonstrating strong stability in the methods of instruction used. His investigation confirmed that instruction in Swedish schools was dominated by a one-way mode of communication, i.e. from teacher to pupil.

3.3 Comments

The message from all these reports was that the curriculum reforms, attempting to obtain educational changes, were noble but flawed. In the Swedish school system the reform effects had resulted in changes in the school as an organization, while the value-base in the schools had been so firmly consolidated socially that it had been able to survive, and in most cases had

sabotaged the intentions expressed by different curricula. Despite a pervasive rhetoric, the extent to which gradually expanded principles of participation were shared throughout the system could be severely questioned. It was rather so that support for the new educational reforms could not be found among educators or parent organizations. A reason might have been the new and confusing demands of schools, which educators and parents did not have a way of coping with. There was a fairly common set of expectations, for instance, of people who occupy the roles of pupil, teacher, parent, principal and so on. Having no guidelines, participants in educational contexts tended to shape themselves to fit the pattern of established role positions. So far, participants in Sweden have not tried to challenge the traditional construction of these role positions.

Additionally, living in a period of time charaterized by a dramatic reduction of educational budgets, most participants considered the gods of efficiency and effectiveness established and took them for granted. Thus, participants´ ambitions to challenge old-fashioned roles, in favor of competing understandings of schools and competing educational visions, were noticeably absent.

One of the most frequently discussed topics in Sweden lately is that of decentralization. Why had the State replaced a detailed rule system with frame work rules, which were even vaguer? Why did powerful central authorities want to give away their power?

I will argue that it was unjustified to describe the trends in educational governance exclusively in terms of a shift towards decentralization, so often found in the reports and literature representing this period of time. Rather, there was a simultaneous shift in the direction of decentralization for some kinds of decisions and the centralization of others. In particular, central governments were assuming a powerful role in setting broad educational goals, moving the school system´s conflict-laden questions to a local level, but simultaneously mandating curricula and establishing common methods of accountability, so that school-level decisions were made within the broad framework of centrally-

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determined priorities and within the constraints of the State budget. So, simultaneously with the praise-worthy purpose of decentralizing, curriculum decision-making and emphasizing management by objectives, a more or less concealed management by resources was introduced. Thus, in fact, the restructuring of schools meant a firm steering of their economy.

As a part of this restructuring of Swedish schools, there was a renaissance of evaluation or assessment. The demands for national evaluation resulted in tests of performance of 2nd, 5th, and 8th graders. Many critical comments appeared. However, these were narrow-minded and focussed on too limited an idea regarding the functions assessment could have. According to Eisner (1993), assessment had five functions: "1/ as temperature-taking; 2/ as a gate-keeper; 3/ to determine whether course objectives have been reached; 4/ to provide feedback to teachers; and 5/ to determine the quality of the program that is being provided" (a.a. p. 224-225). In Sweden, the critics focussed predominantly on functions #3 and #4, thus neglecting to consider the complexity of the phenomenon; and thereby the criticism partly missed the mark.

So, while this bandwagon of development, crowded with management by objectives, decentralization and evaluation, continued in full steam there was, however, an annoying lack of analysis of why this trend was so highly promoted. We could see that similar school reform movements were taking place in many different countries, e.g. Australia, Japan, Scotland (Beare & Lowe Boyd 1993), Germany, and in the Scandinavien countries, and although the reform movements varied somewhat with each country´s unique circumstances, there were remarkable similarities transcending state-related politics. But why did so few researchers question the premises of this trend? Did also educational researchers take the old-fashioned position?

So far, it was found that the effects of educational changes demonstrated that what has been most effective in a managerial sense has not necessarily

been most effective educationally. Further, it was found that the interests of researchers have mainly been focussed on the administrative/structural changes of the school, while contents, methods of instruction and so on, have been forced around the corner - probably a result of granting authorities.

4. Swedish compulsory school development - seen via its curriculum metaphors

The third approach will be a study of the dominant metaphors found in the four curricula, covering the last fifty years.

Metaphor has recently become a multidisciplinary interest and its place has changed from the ornamental fringes to the very core of education. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) emphasized the important role of metaphor by concluding:

> "The most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts of the culture".

Metaphor was often seen as merely a literary device, used for an imaginative emphasis in poetry and literature. More recently, however, we may find more and more statements arguing that human cognition is basically metaphoric in nature.

There are various views and definitions of metaphor, some of which are discussed in Leino and Drakenberg (1993). My conception of metaphor is based on the previous analysis in which metaphor is defined, on the basis of Soskice (1985,15), as "that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms of which are seen to be suggestive of another". The use of metaphor as a conceptual construction thus assists in perceiving the unknown through the structure of what is known.

Metaphor may be used in many different ways. Candy (1986) discussed the use of metaphor and argued that metaphor has a role to play: in conceptualizing and training for the field, in teaching (or facilitating learning) and in the conduct of research (p.94). He further specified the role of metaphor in research by stating that they could be used in a/ identifying research problems, b/ suggesting

possible research strategies, c/ representating potential solutions and insights, and d/ explaining results (p.98).

In this report metaphor was used as a tool of analysis, based on the assumptions that metaphor revealed the very basic thoughts of humans: that metaphor went beyond the level of words to some kind of a shared body of knowledge and assumptions associated with the words. Using metaphor as a tool of analysis I asked myself: "will changes in metaphor by necessity indicate changes in school development?" Investigations into student teachers' development (see e.g. Bullough 1991) indicated that changes in metaphors used were explicitly demonstrated in changes in the way of thinking. Could this notion of metaphor change also be transferred to school development?

There are several ways of analyzing metaphor. First, we may judge a given metaphor along the continuum a live-dead. Many metaphors are such a natural part in our language they have lost their "imaginative power". These metaphors represent analogies that are unimportant in that particular context. On the other hand, metaphors considered "dead" may be dangerous because using them we may transfer values we are unaware of transferring. A metaphor considered "dead" by the speaker/author does not necessarily mean the same thing to the listener/reader. Second, we may determine the limitations of a given metaphor: the points at which the analogies it indicates break down. This point (of breaking down) may be different from person to person, which may explain the controversies and inconsistencies in the views of different authors using one and the same metaphor . Third, we may reveal one or two assumptions hidden in the metaphor, and analyze the further consequences of these assumptions. However, one and the same metaphor may be understood in different ways, which is the challenge in working with metaphors, but to write down detailed lists of various factors belonging to a specific metaphor is to miss the point (see e.g. Merta 1992).

In this report, metaphor analysis is used in order to come to grips with the underlying assumptions involved in the metaphors used, which needed to be brought into the open. The most dominant metaphors are analyzed, i.e. the most frequently encountered metaphors found in the four curricula, i.e. Curriculum -62, Curriculum -69, Curriculum -80, and Curriculum -94. In these curricula it was found that metaphor plays an important external and instrumental rhetorical role in the curriculum changes.

4.1 Curriculum -62

As mentioned in a previous section, one of the main roots of the Swedish school system was progressivism, an educational philosophy closely associated with John Dewey. These ideas were brought to Sweden by Alva Myrdal, who succeeded in having them adopted by her political party (the Social-Democratic party).

In education Dewey rejected the passive spectator view of the learner, where he/she had no other role but to follow the ready-made curriculum. He denied the acquiring of universal principles and ready-made knowledge as the main target of every kind of learning. For Dewey, education was an active sphere of constructive activity.

The growth metaphor, having its roots in Rousseau´s Emile, was the main construction around which Dewey as well as Froebel built their respective theories of child development. For both of them, the pupil passed through stages of growth which were relatively independent of the efforts of the teacher, but followed the immanent program of a growing organism´s development. The teacher´s role, according to Dewey, was to help the child develop. Pekarsky (1990) characterized Dewey´s use of the growth metaphor as follows: "a/ growth is not a "thing" or a finite achievement but an ongoing process; b/ although the process of growth in human beings has destinctive features, growth per se is a characteristic of all organisms; and c/ the process of growth is one

through which the organism (human or nonhuman) becomes increasingly more effective in dealing with its environment"(a.a. 285). As we can see, Dewey was influenced by the evolutionary theory of Darwin, as many other scientists of that time, but Dewey considered evolution not to have any prefixed end as did the child development for Rousseau and Froebel.

After Myrdal´s return to Sweden, she worked very hard to promote the progressivistic school philosophy, convinced as she was that the introduction of progressivistic work methods (cooperation, problem solving, project work etc.) in schools would promote social progress and societal development. Myrdal´s, and Dewey´s, ideas of how to develop the school to meet the demands for social progress was adopted by the Swedish Social-Democratic Party. The State Report of the 1946 School Commission (SOU 1948:27) launched with considerable force the progressivistic school philosophy - a report which in its turn strongly influenced the wording of Curriculum -62. It was therefore expected that the progressivism´s best-known metaphor, i.e. the growth metaphor, would be a dominant one in this curriculum.

The Enlightenment philosophy was considered to be a second root of the Swedish school system. It was popular during the 19th century and launched a scientific approach to education, following the model of the natural sciences. This approach formed a coherent and comprehensive basis for the content of instruction, i.e. calling for the principle of objectivity and a scientific basis for the content of schooling. Instruction should rest on an objective scientific foundation, free from subjective prejudices. Its dominant metaphor was that of emphasizing careful planning, steps in instruction and the importance of measurement. This efficiency metaphor (Selden 1975), despite its claim to be ideologically neutral, was an expression of behaviorism and involved a mechanistic view of man. This scientific approach was often not made explicitly but simply regarded as self-evident assumptions. After a lull in the 1930s and

1940s the objective school was revived in the early 50s, having Americans like Tyler and Bloom as its main advocates. In a more recent analysis of curriculum codes, Lundgren (1979) claimed that in the 1950s and 1960s scientific rationality became the basis on which the schools in society rested. According to Lundgren, the dimensions and nature of education, as well as the structure, were all dependent on rational scientific thinking.

The scientific-unilateral conception of education was founded primarily on an unproblematic, one-sided view of science and a consequent faith in science and the scientific society. Within given frameworks, content became a matter for the subject experts to decide upon.

However, in Curriculum -62 the Swedish word "*fostran* " was the most frequently encountered metaphor. It means about the same as education, but it also implies compulsion and force. It is a difficult word to use since no direct correspondence can be found in the English language. As Lundgren (1972) used the words foster/fostering, I decided to use the same expressions. "The school shall foster" became a slogan and the metaphor fostering was found 38 times in the first part of Curriculum -62, consisting of 8 pages and giving the general guidelines (see Table 1, next page).

At least regarding the first part of this curriculum, the metaphor, fostering, constituted an irreplaceable part of the text´s linguistic machinery. Thereby the writers were giving this metaphor a programmatic role, transmitting the writers´ conceptions of fostering to the readers and users of the word.

The metaphor, fostering, at the word level could be considered to contain a shared body of knowledge and assumptions associated with the word. This knowledge and these assumptions were seen as common and needed no further declarations from the author´s / writer´s point of view. But what were, in fact, the assumptions and conceptions hidden in "the school shall foster"? Could it be considered a metaphor?

Table 1. Frequencies of the three dominant metaphors (growth, efficiency, and fostering) found in Curriculum -62.

	Growth	Efficiency	Fostering
General Guidelines	27	2	38
Home-school society	-	-	4
Inner work of school(total)	134	161	37
(teacher-pupil)	10	3	2
(instruction)	82	51	18
(pupil care)	23	15	13
(judgement)	4	29	1
(cooperation)	2	27	1
(work materials)	9	35	1
(free optional subjects)	4	1	1

Departing from the notion that the "school" presumably was not the right designator, and that the word "foster" had connotations that did not include school, the authors of the phrase "the school shall foster" had intended to insert something. This situation by Searle (1988) was diagnosed as involving a gap between the author´s meaning and linguistic meaning. Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, the metaphorical expansion of the school, as well as

fostering, had brought firmly within its scope different latent functions. In effect, what made "the school shall foster" possibly true was that the authors treated it as possibly true. Now, if authors wrote "the school shall foster" intended as an assertion, and the reader understood it in the way intended, then it became the case; then both "school" and the word "foster" included in their extensions the same latent functions. On this view, a metaphorical assertion amounted to proposed reclassification. Thus, the meaning of the phrase "the school shall foster" was a function of the history of its metaphorical extensions. This theory of conceptual reconfiguration (Tirrel 1991) had become very popular at the time, and according to such a theory the phrase "the school shall foster" was considered to be a metaphorical expression.

Additionally, a closer look at the word fostering would indicate at least three levels: authoritarian, democratic and laissez-faire. Furthermore, different philosophies (e.g. humanism, idealism, realism) would declare different and other levels of fostering. In Curriculum - 62 its principle message was that "the school shall foster". Depending upon the interpretations of politicians, bureaucrats, educators, the content in the school, both the manifest and the hidden curriculum, would look very different. Consequently, also parents´ ambitions to foster their children would be strengthened or slackened depending on how they interpreted this message from the school authorities. A person´s individual interpretation worked as a kind of filter that selected, emphasized, suppressed and organized the features of fostering. Thus, the reader of Curriculum -62 was him-/herself invited to explore similarities and analogies between the features of their own interpretations and of the text, including features not yet discovered or not yet fully understood. Consequently, the metaphor "fostering" had in Curriculum -62 an open character as the authors/writers were unwilling or unable to specify precisely the relevant aspects or features to be considered. Personally, I would argue that this was not a matter of inability but of unwillingness - a matter of deliberate performance

aimed at attaining broad political agreement. How could the use of a metaphor, such as fostering, be aimed at broad political agreement? As a metaphor, fostering worked perfectly in this political context. Everybody was familiar with the concept and it gave the necessary space for all kinds of interpretations and thus made political agreement over party boundaries possible.

Comments

As found, Curriculum -62 was permeated by three metaphors: growth, efficiency and fostering. The separate metaphor´s various meanings and controversies were considered above. Thus, the use of any one of these three metaphors separately in a text like this would be no problem, and would not create more concern than expected when you use metaphors. However, the interesting thing was what happened when you combined them and mixed them. Did they emphasize each other? Did the combination of these three metaphors strengthen their metaphorical power?

The growth metaphor, focussing on the child rather than on the subject, emphasizing the liberation of the child from rote learning, recitation and textbook authority, was often found in Curriculum -62. In particular, the instruction-section stressed the importance of considering the child´s development (see Table 1). However, on most occasions sentences or shorter sections in the text using the growth metaphor, also used the efficiency metaphor. The efficiency metaphor, emphasizing goals, plans and developmental steps, was also found in the instruction-section. By combining these two metaphors the free development of the child emphasized in the growth metaphor, was strictly and severely held back by the efficiency metaphor. As Table 1 showed, the efficiency metaphor was the most frequently encountered metaphor in this section (the school´s inner work) of Curriculum -62, which led to the lasting impression that the child´s free development had

to be considered, but within strictly given frames. In practice, this meant that the efficiency metaphor "killed" the growth metaphor, giving Curriculum -62 an image of being a fixed frame devoid of flexibility. This seemed strange, since from a construction point of view, this curriculum was said to be attuned to the dispositions and abilities of the individual child. Still, the message given by Curriculum -62 was that everything in the school, the child as well as instruction, had to follow a pre-planned route. This message was further strengthened by the third metaphor found in Curriculum -62, i.e. the fostering metaphor. This metaphor, frequently encountered in the first section, i.e. the general guidelines of the school (see Table 1) , when considered separately, had an open character; but in combination with the efficiency metaphor the fostering metaphor easily turned into authority and morality, emphasizing discipline and obedience. Thus, the adjustment of this curriculum to the pupils´ interests and abilities was mostly "lip-service", while the penetrating "pedagogical heritage" (Isling 1988), shown in the usage of the three metaphors, was that provided by Kant and Herbart.

4.2 Curriculum -69

One of the first things noticed in Curriculum -69 was its heavy emphasis on the efficiency metaphor. In Curriculum -62 notions, related to the efficiency metaphor were found, in total, 163 times; while in Curriculum -69, this metaphor was encountered 240 times (see Table 2, next page). Prominent in this metaphor was rational planning, objectives and the manner of finding and stating them, objectivity, result-and evaluation control, ingredients typically derived from the Tyler rationale. In particular, the statement of objectives became a crucial step in this procedure: "educational objectives become criteria by which materials are selected, content is outlined, instruction procedures are developed and test and examinations are prepared" (Tyler 1949, p.3). Tyler´s

framework and its descendants were built on an analogy with the assembly line. To take advantage of this efficient system of production, it was necessary to plan in precise detail one's objectives, then arrange the materials to be used in appropriate places along the line, deploy the various skills necessary to fit the materials together, and then have an evaluation process to make sure that what emerged was what was planned.

Table 2. Frequencies of the four metaphors (collaboration, growth, efficiency, and fostering) found in Curriculum -69.

	Collaboration	Growth	Efficiency	Fostering
General Guidelines	19	42	21	3
Common directions (Home-school -society)	12	4	-	1
(collaboration)	34	9	3	2
(the free choice)	5	10	-	-
(study and work orientation)	4	15	4	-
(instruction)	60	62	128	2
(pupil care)	16	14	24	1
(judgement)	1	3	22	-
(planning)	9	7	38	-

This analogy with the assembly line had a compelling force, because it was easy to conceptualize education in terms of it. Some of the assumptions hidden in this metaphor were that the teachers considered themselves as knowledge containers and their task was to fill the "empty" pupils with the wisdom and knowledge the teachers possessed. "Success as a teacher means class-control and to cover the textbook. The students are not seen as problems, they 'sit as lighted candles' eagerly listening to the teacher´s 'order', a teacher whom they respect very much but also fear" (Drakenberg & Leino 1994, p.5). This metaphor also indicated that school learning meant a transformation of "the crude raw materials that pupils bring with them to school into a finished and useful product" (Kliebart 1975, p.81).

Critical comments emphasized, however, that the efficiency metaphor dangerously simplified and deformed the education process. However, although there was sometimes an overflow of critical comments, the opponents of the efficiency metaphor offered only arguments and rhethoric but no clear alternative, and certainly none with the same neatness.

Another typical characteristic of Curriculum -69 was its lack of the fostering metaphor. "The school shall foster", a sentence which permeated Curriculum -62, was in Curriculum -69 almost completely replaced, in most cases in favor of the growth metaphor. Dahllöf (1971) maintained this was a result of the ideological debate flourishing in the late 60s.

The two remaining metaphors, found in Curriculum -69, were the growth metaphor and the collaboration metaphor. In particular, the growth metaphor was in this case interesting to study, because since Curriculum -62, where this metaphor was frequently encountered, it had grown from an individually focussed metaphor into one emphasizing the group. This was accomplished in a very subtle and delicate way, for instance by an exchange of pronouns in favor of nouns, and vice versa. Thereby the authors of the curriculum text were able to emphasize "the pupils". At the same time the authors of the text , as often as

possible, withdrew the individual pupil by substituting the word "the pupil" with its pronoun, thereby making the individual pupil less perceptable and powerful. This considerate exchange of words lead to an increased emphasis on the group. A scrutinized analysis, limited to the section "Goals and guidelines" showed that the use of plurality was much more common in Curriculum -69 than in Curriculum -62 (see Table 3).

Table 3. Some frequently-encountered concepts in Curriculum -62 and in Curriculum -69.

	Pupil	Pupils	Society	Collaboration
1962	36	64	35	27
1969	31	78	39	33

In Curriculum -69 a heavy emphasis was found on the individual as a member of society. The importance here of raising children into active members of society could not be ignored. It demonstrated a pluralistic form of education where the curriculum stressed that "work in school has to promote the pupils´ development towards independent citizens having an interest in the world around us, leading to personal involvement and to shared international responsibilities" (a.a. p.14). This approach, emphasizing membership in society, was sometimes enlarged to refer to the whole world, for instance "the individual person is a member of various fellowships. In addition, he is a member of a society, as well in a national as an international community"(a.a. p.10).

The "key" to accomplish the intended citizen was collaboration, i.e. bringing multiple authorities together as a vital way to address the needs of children on their way to becoming adults. Could collaboration be considered a metaphor? In accordance with the conceptual reconfiguration theory (Tirrel 1991), it was a metaphor. Besides, it was a metaphor that worked in a politically perfect way in a national curriculum text.

In Curriculum -69 collaboration was given an idealistic approach, assuming an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect and support. In reality, collaboration meant bringing together authorities having diverse attributes, experiences, ideologies and perspectives, as well as unclarified expectations regarding each other. Often these issues were left in the private realm which was why they easily served to corrode the foundation of collaborative efforts.

In Curriculum -69 little was said about what collaboration would look like, the forms it could take and how it came about. Important, though, was that collaboration was pre-planned! However, politics, personalities and financial difficulties could still obstruct the best laid plans.

The current use of the term collaboration emphasized its reference to partnership among friends. However, collaboration also indicated "cavoting with the enemy", a connotation that had to be faced and overcome in developing a truly collaboration relationship. In such a relationship, trust between the cooperating parties would enable them .o share authority. The nature of collaboration also depended on what the cooperating parties hoped to achieve, why it could embrace diverse connections between institutions, from formal agreements to informal agreements between two or several individuals. And ultimately, the collaborators needed to recognize their own interests but also the needs and perspectives of all represented in the collaboration team. The main reason for collaboration in Curriculum -69 was the concern for the pupils. The needs and perspectives of the pupils had to be sincerely emphasized so that collaboration worked toward consumer/pupil satisfaction.

Comments

Why was this demand for collaboration emphasized in Curriculum -69? One reason seemed to be to diminish the power of parents. This power, for instance, had been demonstrated in the unforeseen number of pupils choosing 9g instead of other alternatives. The power of parents had also been encountered in the rather heated ideological debate about school and society flourishing in the late 60s.

Collaboration was a "hidden" tool of power, supposedly demonstrating the assertion that what the school decided was the best for the children, something not all parents agreed with. Through collaboration, showing the (agreed upon) perspective of all authorities represented in the collaboration team, the school tried to obtain ascendancy over parents. And additionally, it could have been assumed that a decision made by such a group had to be objective and true!

By usage of the "hidden" power of collaboration combined with different notions of the efficiency metaphor, the curriculum demonstrated its power to force teachers as well as parents to be "shackled" by the frames given by the school. On the other hand, using the growth metaphor the authors of Curriculum -69 emphasized liberation of the children. By hinting at a progressivistic school philosophy, they promoted work methods like problem-solving and project work, i.e. group activities not firmly framed by the teacher.

However, taking the metaphors in Curriculum -69 together, the freedom given by the growth metaphor was heavily outweighted by the limited scope of action imposed by the efficiency metaphor. Consequently, the metaphors used in Curriculum -69 combated each other, even though the efficiency metaphor, due to its frequency, won the battle. Accordingly, the lasting impression of this change in the curriculum was a restatement of ideas presented in Curriculum -62, emphasizing the "pedagogical heritage" (Isling 1988) provided by Kant and Herbart.

4.3 Curriculum - 80

One of the obvious characteristics of Curriculum -80 was its overflow of metaphors. Often one and the same sentence could contain both three and four metaphors of different origin. This abundance of metaphors, however, gave a rather confusing impression demonstrating a curriculum filled with inconsistencies, oppositions and conflicts.

The most frequently found metaphors were the following: growth, efficiency, society and fostering, see Table 4.

Table 4. Frequencies of the four metaphors (growth, efficiency, society and fostering) found in Curriculum -80.

	Growth	Efficiency	Society	Fostering
General Guidelines	12	10	35	9
Content and collaboration	21	72	87	5
Methods	10	44	32	2
Students' special needs	15	15	13	-
Evaluation	1	35	6	

The growth metaphor, emphasizing that the curriculum was to be based on the child´s capacity, experiences and interests, was also a prevalent theme in this curriculum. However, its earlier focus on individualism and individual fulfillment was also often altered in this curriculum in favor of the group. We could also find that the ideal teaching method was exploratory rather than explanatory. The stress was on problem-solving rather than mastering lots of facts, and subject matter was interdisciplinary. Teaching was considered to be the art of stimulating discussions and the classrooms should build on real-life experiences. This call for relevant education came from both students and teachers, and in Curriculum -80 the designers of the curriculum seemed to have listened to these demands. In particular, these features were emphasized by introducing thematic studies and independent studies.

To Dewey, one of the fathers of the growth metaphor, the school was a miniature democratic society in which the pupils should learn and practice the skills and tools necessary for democratic living. Therefore, the introduction and use of democratic school procedures was considered a prelude to community and society responsibilities. Therefore, there had to be a closer link between school and society. These demands for closer collaboration between school and society was also found in the society metaphor, demonstrating assumptions belonging to the reconstructionistic view of education. Society was a popular metaphor in Curriculum -80 and indicated an emphasis on society-centered education that took into consideration the needs of society and all classes. As society was continuously changing, teachers and pupils had to be change agents and the curriculum emhasized internationalism amd cultural pluralism. Besides, there was an emphasis on discussing and examining controversial issues as a part of pupils´ education to consider the realities of the world. Conflicts should not be avoided but analyzed and solved, nor could political or religious controversies remain unanalyzed and hidden (Curriculum -80 p.32). Classroom activities should be founded on real-world experiences and conflicts, and

teaching was intended to consist of stimulating discussions where the teacher´s role was to help the pupils find constructive and flexible solutions rather than to stick to narrow and one-sided topics of discussions.

Increased proximity between school and society was often emphasized in Curriculum -80, for instance by introducing an experience program. This meant that the pupils spend at least 6 (2x3) weeks (during the 9-year school period) at three different work places. The aim was to learn about different work areas, work environments, occupations and tasks, and to learn about the importance of work to individuals as well as to society (Lgr 80 p.28). Another thing often emphasized was cooperation and collaboration between school and society. Activities, earlier considered to be the teacher´s individual responsibility, were now a responsibility to be shared by several teachers and authorities in the society. Organizations, associations and unions were also expected to take an active part in the pupils´ education into democratic citizens. So when designing the pupils´ activities in school, teachers had to take into consideration the needs of the society primarily .

As seen in Table 4 the efficiency metaphor was very dominant. The use of efficiency-statements had grown from an occasional and irregular procedure around midcentury, to a relatively precise and uniform technique. This required that many educators considered progress in the study of education in terms of the increasingly-tight technical precision and control achieved by the development of objectives in planning, organizing and evaluating curricula and teaching. The efficiency metaphor permeated the Curriculum -80, and demonstrated in many ways a reaction to notions underpinning the growth metaphor and the society metaphor. To speak, read, write and count were considered to be fundamentals of the elementary level (a.a.p.30). These subjects were required for everybody and had to be carefully planned and carried through. The teachers were often advised to present objective, unbiased and scientifically-founded information to be addressed to <u>all</u> the pupils. The

curriculum also stressed the importance of "*samlad skoldag* " which meant that all pupils, almost independent of age, spend about the same number of hours in school. During hours not devoted to subject matters, the pupils were kept busy by thematic studies and independent studies. In the efficiency metaphor, notions gathered from industry were also found emphasizing inputs and outputs, strictly planning and evaluation. There was no doubt, the emphasis was on productivity.

The features Curriculum -80 was best-known for, its change of management, decentralization and national evaluation, i.e its more administrative approach, were features mentioned only in passing. Most of the attention was directed towards the society metaphor, by which the closer link between school and society was increasingly emphasized.

Finally, it was surprising to find the fostering metaphor - again. After the heated discussions caused by this metaphor in the 60s one would expect it would be the end. Obviously, this was not the case and in Curriculum -80 it was revived, although not as intensively as in Curriculum -62. The reason for using it again could be questioned, in particular as no changes or growth of the metaphor could be found.

Comments

To read Curriculum -80 was an interesting experience, particularly due to its frequency of metaphors. It was therefore not surprising to find controversies and even manifest conflicts between assumptions embedded in different metaphors, for instance conflicts between assumtions that underlie the growth metaphors and those of the efficiency metaphor. Curriculum -80 also showed that the growth metaphor and the society metaphor strengthened each other, something already emphasized when discussing Curriculum -69.

The overwhelming impression of Curriculum -80 was that the efficiency metaphor, on one side, and the growth metaphor on the other, counteracted each

other. All activities in school had to correspond to the needs of the society, and all collaboration with society (authorities or organisations) had to be strictly planned and evaluated. The scope of action was not free but had to follow predetermined outlines. Even in activities where one would expect the most freedom, i.e. in thematic studies and independent studies, they had to be planned and organized accordingly and in line with the needs of society.

This ability of society to penetrate the school and school activities had emerged out of a concerted attempt, in the early 70s, to design schools so as to prepare pupils for active participation in society and working life. A view of education as an instrument of change was now launched. Schools were considered as a political force in the building of a better society. The results of the 70s-attempts could be clearly seen in Curriculum -80, which was a society-centered curriculum that stressed democratic education and emphasized the needs of society and all classes.

In implementing this curriculum, the Government subjected the provision of state schooling to market forces, i.e. emphasizing local management, diversity and responsiveness, shared with parents and pupils. This change in administration, borrowed from industry, was said to be caused by the rapid economical growth: but did the borrowed clothes fit? This issue had been considered by some researchers, most of them emphasizing the almost impossible obstacles found in trying to fit "hard" business features to "soft" areas such as education. Thus Curriculum -80 had to be considered mainly an organizational/administrational change, not an educational. From the metaphors used, and how they were used, I would argue that at a basic level Curriculum -80 continued along the lines pursued in earlier curricula.

4.4 Curriculum -94

This curriculum I would like to call a balanced curriculum. The furtherance of the pupil´s harmonious development was here accomplished by "a varied and balanced combination of subjects and work methods.... In the school work, the intellectual as well as practical, sensual and aesthetic aspects have to be paid attention to ... Harmonious development involves manual as well as intellectual elements of work" (Curriculum -94 p.16). Based on this reason, a variety of options were often emphasized.

If we compare Curriculum -94 with Curriculum -69 and Curriculum -80, there were big differences.Even the role of the school changed, from serving society to serving the harmonious development of the individual pupil.

A prominent feature in Curriculum -94 was that of the individual pupil, who was back on stage again. Respect for the individual pupil, his person and his work were stressed, and the individual pupil´s growth and development was emphasized. In this curriculum text, the individual pupil was mentioned 66 times while pupils/the pupils was used 47 times.

Furthermore, the school had to disseminate that knowledge which was needed by every individual and citizen. Curriculum -94 even talked about the school´s responsibility to present "the more constant knowledge...that everybody in society needs"(p.15), hinting at some influences from the essentialistic philosophy of education. However, somewhat later in the text, the curriculum stated that dissemination of knowledge today would require an active discussion about what was considered to be important knowledge today, and what it would be in the future, hinting at a conception of knowledge as being relative to its nature.

In "objectives and guidelines", the first part of the Curriculum -94, we find, as in Curriculum -80, the division of objectives, i.e. objectives at which instruction was aimed and objectives stipulating the basic level of knowledge. This division of objectives was explicitly phrased for each subject in the

syllabus. In Curriculum-94 it was found that the objectives, at which instruction was aimed, were the same for all schools in Sweden, while objectives, stipulating the basic level of knowledge, varied depending on the kind of school considered (compulsory schools, Samic schools or special schools for the handicapped or mentally retarded).

One big problem with Curriculum -94 was that it was written in a short telegraphic style, i.e. like a shopping list. The use of such a style of writing eleminated a mixture of metaphors in the same sentence - a way of writing we had been used to in earlier curricula.

Another characteristic of Curriculum -94 was that it was very strictly structured. Each of its individual sections was structured along the same outline, i.e. 1/goals; 2/ guidelines and 3/ what is required of the teacher.

The metaphors encountered in Curriculum -94 were, in principle, the same as those found in the earlier curricula, as discussed here. The exception was the balanced curriculum metaphor (see Table 5, next page)

This table shows that the metaphors growth, efficiency and society, were the three dominating ones. The growth metaphor was in principle bound to the individual pupil´s growth and development. The efficiency metaphor was focussed on goal-settings, planning and evaluation, i.e. educational technology concepts. The society metaphor emphasized multiculturalness, the ambition to have conflicts and controversies analyzed and solved, as well as having controversial issues discussed and examined. Metaphors such as fostering and collaboration were in the background. The balance metaphor was new in Swedish curriculum texts.

Table 5. Frequencies of the six metaphors (growth, efficiency, fostering, society, collaboration and balance) found in Curriculum -94.

	Growth	Efficiency	Fostering	Society	Collaboration	Balance
Value basis and tasks of the school	18	14	3	24	2	4
Objectives and guidelines	21	15	-	2	2	1
Norms and values	5	-	1	9	-	-
Pupil´s responsibility and influence	6	1	-	8	-	1
School and home	2	1	-	-	2	-
School-kindergarten-school-children care	2	2	-	-	5	-
School and the world around	2	4	-	5	2	-
Assessment and grades	2	6	-	-	-	-
Principal´s responsibility	-	10	-	3	6	-

However, the balance metaphor was well-known from American studies, where for instance Eisner (1975) and Kelly (1986) had thoroughly discussed the balance dilemma. They stressed that the term balance was not very precise and many variations on this theme had emerged, e.g. static versus dynamic, common versus specified, depth versus breadth, theoretical versus practical. In Curriculum -94 a balanced curriculum seemed to indicate a balance between theory and practice. A varied and balanced combination of subjects and work methods was emphasized where intellectual, practical, sensual and aesthetic aspects had to be considered. Just the possibility of having so many interpretations indicated how perfect the balanced curriculum metaphor worked in political contexts, in particular when political agreement was desirable. For a discussion on the balanced curriculum, see Leino and Drakenberg (1993).

Comments

Earlier curricula, here discussed, were written in running text, in which a combination and mixture of metaphors was a common characteristic. That way of writing a curriculum meant that the metaphors used sometimes undermined, sometimes strengthened each other. In Curriculum -94 quite another writing style was introduced - a telegraphic style - meaning that when metaphors were used there was only one per sentence. Of course, also in such a lay-out different metaphors, due to frequency, could undermine or strengthen each other. In Curriculum -94 three metaphors were encountered more often than the others, i.e. the growth metaphor, the efficiency metaphor and the society metaphor. The latter was living very much in a world of its own, but might possibly have emphasized the growth metaphor. With regard to the growth metaphor and the efficiency metaphor, they seemed to undermine each other. The freedom that the growth metaphor alluded to was taken back by the efficiency metaphor. So I would argue that none of the most frequently encountered metaphors in

Curriculum -94 would win the battle. The lasting impression of this curriculum text was that it was a rather empty document, showing no direction whatsoever. Maybe that was the point! Having such a document as a general framework made it absolutely necessary for planners at the school level, and maybe also at the municipal level, to find a direction themselves.

Finally, Curriculum -94 was a document formulated and passed in Parliament by a non-Socialist government. Its influence, for instance, in the renaissance of the individual pupil, was very obvious. However, some months after Curriculum -94 was passed in Parliament, a Socialist government came into power in Sweden. Therefore, it is very much a question of if,or of how much of this curriculum that will be implemented. In 95-03-14 the Socialist goverment decided to withdraw 25 % of the state/municipal subsidies designed for free schools. The disarmament of Curriculum -94 had just begun.

4.5 Discussion

In this section I have discussed the most dominant metaphors found in four Swedish curricula, i.e. Curriculum -62, Curriculum -69, Curriculum -80 and Curriculum -94. Metaphors, in general, carry double programmatic functions: 1/they provide us with conceptual maps so that we may interpret and bring order and meaning to the external world; and 2/ they provide a possibility to reconstruct and analyze the core considerations in a digested way.

How to understand and interpret metaphors have been an issue considered by many researchers. Many different theories and models have been brought to light (see e.g. Leino and Drakenberg 1993) and the debate continues. Therefore, among others, any analysis using metaphors will remain tentative, as metaphors themselves represent a non-definitional mode of reference.

However, by using triangulation, i.e. in this case a combination of perspectives, I hope to eleminate some of the drawbacks. I found it necessary to

consider a multi-dimentional perspective in order to see if a curriculum change or development had occurred.

In analyzing the different metaphors used in the four curricula, we could see how one and the same metaphor changed over time. The efficiency metaphor, for instance, which in the 50s seemed rather vague and fuzzy, had grown into a fullfledged metaphor in Curriculum -69, demonstrating manifest as well as hidden assumptions.

Concerning the growth metaphor, discussed and analyzed by many researchers, an interesting development emerged in my study. I saw it as an obvious continuation from the growth metaphor into the society metaphor. The reason for this was that the assumptions I had found underlying the growth metaphor were the same as those found in the society metaphor - but the agents were different. In the growth metaphor, development and growth were originally focussed on the individual, while in the society metaphor growth and development were focussed on the group.

A similar analysis of the fostering metaphor, the metaphor that caused so much discussion in Curriculum -62, showed, however, that at its renaissance in Curriculum -80, it still seemed to contain the same assumptions and thus no development or growth of this metaphor had occured; thus the reason for its renaissance could be questioned.

However, in analyzing metaphors the most interesting thing was not to analyze the separate metaphors, but to analyze what happened when two or more metaphors were combined in a text: how some metaphors could strengthen while others undermined each other, how the combination of metaphors could emphasize or counteract the intentions of curriculum designers. But either way they worked, nothing really new was presented in the last four curricula. Instead, the metaphors used had "old" assumptions, and although a change of metaphors might happen, at the core of considerations they did not introduce

anything new. I found that the curriculum designers of Curriculum -62, Curriculum -69, Curriculum 80 and Curriculum -94 had used the same frames of reference as those once designed by Kant and Herbart.

In this analysis of four Swedish curricula, I found a lot of metaphors, sometimes strengthening, sometimes undermining each other. In Sweden all curricula, so far, had adopted the policy of combining various metaphors. Too much emphasis on any single metaphor, at the expense of another, might do harm and cause too many conflicts. How much one metaphor was emphasized was critical, because no one society could give itself over to extremes and still remain a democracy.

5. Concluding discussion

We now have evidence of governmental efforts to change curricula since the early 1960s. The findings presented here, as relate to curricula, their effects and their metaphors in recent decades, revealed that the educational community did not change very much, although there were dramatic changes in the world around . Through this trial and error experience, we learned that the process of educational change was much more complex than anticipated.

School development has been, and still is, an interesting research object. Being a multitudinous topic of research, it gave rise to a large number of studies and research reports, however, primarily describing school development as a one-dimensional phenomenon. The summarized result from these studies gave a contradictory view of Swedish school development. In an attempt to get a more conformable and homogeneous understanding of Swedish school development, a multi-perspective design, i.e. triangulation, was used in this report. Triangulation was a new approach to school development, using different perspectives to measure the phenomenon of interest. Curriculum texts, effects of curriculum change, and metaphors used in the curriculum texts were analyzed. Curriculum texts (Curriculum 1962; 1969; 1980 and 1994) demonstrated that Sweden experienced a continuously changing reform program from the 1960s onwards. The changes were caused by an ambition to restructure education along comprehensive lines, providing social justice, equality of opportunity and national efficiency, and resulted in curricula increasingly shaped and modified according to changes in society.

School reality, i.e. the effects of curriculum change, as described in research reports from different academic disciplines, depicted a view of Swedish curriculum changes as noble but flawed. New curricula, the reports showed, resulted only in few, if any, changes.

Analyses of the most frequently encountered metaphors in the four curricula studied, resulted in a confirmation of the Swedish school as a rather unchangeable phenomenon, so far. The metaphors used had "old" assumptions referring to the same frames of reference as those once designed by Kant and Herbart. Certainly, new and modern metaphors were encountered, but at the core of considerations they did not introduce anything new.

Why use metaphor analysis as a perspective in this triangulation approach? Metaphor plays an important role in our language and demonstrates the power of language to constitute general labels for what and how things might be understood. Thus, metaphor has the capacity to organize the complexity of our world into comprehensive pictures of our reality. Using a kind of "longitudinal" metaphor analysis, i.e. a continuous follow-up of all curriculum texts from one and the same country, has not been conducted earlier. Nor has such a careful analysis of different metaphors used in each Swedish curriculum been carried out before, and this report clearly has shown how important such analyses are in order to understand the hidden underpinnings and assumptions each curriculum transferred to its readers and implementors. Different metaphors pinpointed different aspects, also showing how one and the same metaphor changed over time. Additionally, in this report special focuss was placed on the combination of metaphors and how such combinations could emphasize or counteract the intentions of curriculum designers. The use of metaphor as a tool of analysis provided a behind-the -scenes look at the curricula, which, due to the researcher´s knowledge and understanding, gave observations and notions not directly observable. In this specific case, the analyses of metaphor showed that nothing really new was presented in the last four curricula in Sweden, that the metaphors used showed the curriculum designers, from the 1960s onwards, to have adopted the same frames of reference as those once designed by 18th and 19th century philosophers.

Thus, using metaphor analysis as one of three dimensions enhanced our understanding of Swedish school development - justifying the three-dimensional perspective used in this report. However, the triangulation approach did not give a uniform result, thus leading to a singular valid proposition about the studied phenomenon. According to Miles and Huberman (1984, p.235), "triangulation is supposed to support a finding by showing that independent measures of it agree with it or, at least, don't contradict it". Following their view of triangulation, I unintentionally assumed that bias would be eliminated and that such a research strategy would result in a convergence with the truth about the studied phenomenon. The results in this report did not support such a view of triangulation. Instead, triangulation in this report resulted in convergent and contradictory evidence. Thus while working on this report I realized that I had too easily accepted the arguments of Miles and Huberman. Thus, from the researcher's point of view, a re-evaluation of triangulation was necessary. The value of triangulation could no longer be considered solely a technical elegant solution to contradictory sources of data, resulting in an integrated whole. Rather, a triangulation approach could also provide more and better evidence supporting the researcher's constructions of meaningful explanations of the phenomenon being studied. By using a three-dimensional approach, I have tapped different domains of knowledge: and thus triangulation in this report demonstrated its power to provide a deeper understanding of Swedish school development, of the differences in research results, and why there were differences.

Embedding the results at hand with a holistic understanding of school development, it was found that in bringing about educational change, perhaps the heaviest responsibility fell upon the political authorities of a country. It was they who had to make responsible judgements as to the adequacy of the schools to serve the country's general welfare. But bringing about curriculum changes

in any educational system was by no means a purely intellectual problem. Forces which favored or opposed such changes were usually intense and powerful. In recent years, there were numerous studies concerned with how and why educational reforms failed or succeeded. Often though, their perspective was very narrow. Some of them showed particular interest in the position of teachers in the curriculum change process. An example was Thiessen (1989) who, departing from personal construct theory and teacher interviews, found that there were four different orientations toward curriculum change : a teacher-centered adaptation orientation, a professional-renewal orientation, a structured-direction and a strategic-influence orientation. In the teacher-centered view, the curriculum change was considered "a classroom phenomenon dependent on those actions teachers take in their classrooms" (a.a. p.135). The professional-renewal view meant collaboration with those directly influenced by the change, and "is the reflective search for practical answers to this fundamental question of value" (a.a. p.137). For the structured-direction view, curriculum change was "dominated by the development of products - curriculum documents that illustrate what the change is and guide teachers through the necessary steps to implement the change in their classroom" (a.a. p.142). Finally, in the strategic-influence orientation, one or more key educators were appointed, "educators who have recognized authority from the central office"(a.a. p.142). According to this view, change occurs " when the key educators determine and affect those personal, interpersonal and environmental conditions and factors that cause the individual and the group to adopt the beliefs and practice of change" (a.a. p. 142-143).

However, all difficulties could not be attributed simply to the inertia of school personnel, a group too often considered the scapegoat. An attempt at a more comprehensive perspective was presented by Koppich and Guthrie (1993), who in their model specified three crucial conditions for change to occur : alignment, initiative and mobilization. According to these authors, the

coincidence of public preferences, a politically defined problem, policy alternatives and a predisposed political environment were necessary prerequisites that created a "window of opportunity" (a.a. p.23). Initiative, on the other hand, began by events perceived as disconcerting or threatening. If the unsettling conditions persisted, alterations in public moods created a disposition toward policy action. The principal contemporary sources of such distress were economical, technological and demographic dynamics, each of which could be mobilizing the condition necessary to take advantage of a "window of opportunity". Alignment was considered crucial, but in itself in-sufficient to produce change. This was also true for intentionality. So there had to be some individuals or groups willing to mobilize existing conditions, individuals who were advocates of change and who were politically "savvy" to recognize when and where a "window of opportunity" was going to be opened.

Could the four last changes of curriculum in Sweden be understood and explained from Koppich´s and Guthrie´s frame of reference? No, not really. One reason for this was, I would argue, that Koppich & Guthrie referred to individuals or groups of individuals as initiators. In understanding curriculum reforms the idea of individuals or groups of individuals would have to be elaborated into one which recognized the place of departmental and governmental interests. On the whole, their model was found somewhat superficial and in particular the second,"initiative", condition for change was weak. There were, for instance, no examinations, not even suggested ones, as to how and what decisions of change were made: who benefited from this change? How adequate a medicine was the curriculum change?

So far, one of the most comprehensive analysis of the educational change process was presented by Fullan (1991), who emphasized the complexity of this process. He stressed that in understanding educational change, "it is essential to find out what is happening at the classroom, school, and local levels of education as well as at the regional and national levels" (a.a. p. 16). First,

however, we must understand the purposes of change. According to most of the work leading up to new reforms, the main purpose of the reform was to enable schools to accomplish their goals better. In Sweden, the equality-goal had a dominant position when new program, structures and practices were suggested in the curricula. Secondly, we must understand the forces of change. According to Fullan (1991), quoting Lewin, there were three main roads in which pressures for educational policy change might arise:

> "1.through natural disasters such as earth-quakes, floods, famines and their like;
> 2.through external forces such as imported technology and values, and immigrations; and
> 3.through internal contradictions, such as when indigenous changes in technology lead to new social patterns and needs, or when one or more groups in a society perceive a discrepancy between educational values and outcomes affecting themselves or others in whom they have an interest".
>
> (Fullan, 1991,p.17)

In his most recently published book *Change Forces*, Fullan (1993) emphasized that there were two basic reasons why educational reform was failing. One was that the problems considered were complex and intractable, while we, according to Case (1994) tried to popularize the reforms "by oversimplifying the issues, overgeneralizing the reform´s application and translating intricate approaches into recipe-like processes" (a.a. p.80). Workable, powerful solutions were hard to conceive, Fullan continued, and even harder to put into practice. The other reason was that the strategies that were used did not focus on the things that would really make a difference. They failed to address fundamental instructional reform and associated the development of new collaborative cultures with educators (Fullan 1983, p.46).

Analyzing Swedish school curriculum development, it was not hard to realize the accuracy in Fullan´s reasoning. In Sweden we had not noticed the complexity and intractability of curriculum change carefully enough. According to Beare and Lowe Boyd (1993), most implementors and others had not been given the possibility to bring about a desirable scene. Instead, Sweden believed in another solution. Sweden, like many other countries, had inserted more and more reforms into the educational system. Most educators, so far, had not yet realized how unrealistic it was to introduce reforms, one by one, in a situation which basically was not organized to engage in change. The frequency of reforms had resulted above all not in anything more than to give the reform a bad name. The other reason Fullan stressed was that used strategies missed their mark. They failed to address the fundamentals in a curriculum, and as seen, for instance, from the analysis of metaphors they changed and grew over the years- got more modern-fashioned- but their core of considerations was old and could be traced back to Kant and Herbart. It was obvious that in Sweden we had an educational environment in which change was continously expected, but not prepared for, alongside a "hidden" conservative system, all of which resulted in constant aggravation.

Although I have stressed that very little has happened in our schools, all may not be "doom and gloom" (Milburn et al. 1989 p. 123). Pedagogical innovations have been in evidence; new subjects or subject areas have been introduced, new learning strategies have been proposed. Thus, information about innovations counteracted research results indicating unchangeability. How was that possible? I would like to maintain that, just as Cuban (1988) suggested, we have to categorize innovations in first- and second-order changes. First-order changes are those that improve the efficiency "without disturbing the basic organizational features, without substantially altering the way that children and adults perform their roles" (a.a. p. 342). Second-order changes alter the ways the organization (school) is put together, i.e. goals, structures and the

roles of pupils and adults. The four curriculum changes in Sweden, I would argue, have been first-order changes which is why it is quite natural that "schooling appears pretty much the same as it´s always been" (Cuban 1988). If real change is going to occur we must deal with alterations at both levels - a challenge for the 21st century.

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